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SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China newspaper or releases emanating from PRC news agencies.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.

We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing.

We need not only a correct Marxist political line but also a correct Marxist military line.

They /all officers and soldiers of our army/ must heighten their sense of discipline and resolutely carry out orders, carry out our policy, carry out the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention--with army and people united, army and government united, officers and soldiers united, and the whole army united--and permit no breach of discipline.

* * *

Carry Out the Socialist Revolution in the Countryside Well

- In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the publication of "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation"

by

Ch'i Yen (齐彦)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao's "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation" published 20 years ago is an important document for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. It has greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist transformation of agriculture and systematically solved the question of the line, principles and policies guiding the peasants to take the socialist road. In the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, re-studying this great work, particularly the brilliant thinking of Chairman Mao in the report concerning the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, is vitally important for us in raising our consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in carrying the socialist revolution in the countryside through to the end.

The upsurge of socialist transformation which emerged in our vast countryside 20 years ago was another profound revolution carried out by the peasants following the land reform under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The emergence of this great mass movement was not fortuitous; it reflected the urgent desire of the poor and lower-middle peasants to completely break away from the shackles of private ownership and to establish socialist production relations in the countryside. Chairman Mao highly praised and supported the enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasants in taking the socialist road. In the report "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation," Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: for the peasants "socialism is the only way out." He also called on the whole Party to boldly arouse the masses and take an energetic lead in the cooperative movement so as to "bring about, step by step, the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture; in other words, it means to carry out cooperation and eliminate the rich-peasant economy and the individual economy in the countryside so that all the rural people will become increasingly well off together." Guided by Chairman Mao's great call, a surging high tide of socialist transformation emerged rapidly in the vast countryside. Agricultural cooperation was realized nationwide within a period of a little more than a year beginning with the second half of 1955.

This great change in the relations of production, however, engendered deep hatred and fear among all class enemies and the Right opportunists within the Party. Shortly after the land reform, Liu Shao-ch'i vigorously advocated "guarantee of private ownership" and "four big freedoms" to develop the rich-peasant economy, and vilified the revolutionary

practice of the poor and lower-middle peasants in actively running agricultural producers' cooperatives on a trial basis as "erroneous, dangerous and utopian socialism." Then, in 1955, when the high tide of the nationwide agricultural cooperation was about to appear, he again dished out the so-called policy of "resolute contraction" and clamored about "getting off the horse" quickly, disbanding in large numbers primary producers cooperatives of a semi-socialist character already organized. A fierce struggle ensued between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and Liu Shao-ch'i's Right opportunist line, namely, the revisionist line. The situation at that time was as described by Chairman Mao incisively. "One says 'off' while the other says 'on'--yet it demonstrates the difference between two opposing lines."

At the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee convened on the eve of the nationwide liberation, Chairman Mao had pointed out that the basic contradiction within the country following the nationwide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem would be "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." In the countryside, this struggle between the two classes evolved around the issue of leading the peasants to take the socialist or the capitalist road. Following the land reform and faced with the basic situation where there existed in the countryside capitalist ownership by the rich peasants and a vast sea of private ownership by individual peasants, whether to lead the peasants to continue to advance and gradually embark on the socialist road or let capitalism develop freely moving toward polarization to bring misery and suffering back to the peasants became a major question bearing on the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the socialist system as well as on the future and destiny of our country. To lead the peasants to take the socialist road, the proletariat must comply with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and let the peasants "get organized" to bring about agricultural cooperation step by step. Liu Shao-ch'i, who represented the interests of the bourgeoisie, vainly attempted to lead the peasants toward the capitalist road in order to restore capitalism in the countryside. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the peasants, demonstrating a high level of enthusiasm in taking the socialist road, prevailed over the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and won a great victory by basically accomplishing the socialist transformation of agriculture.

In 1958, under the brilliant illumination of the Party's general line for socialist construction--a line formulated by Chairman Mao, a brand new form of social organization, the people's commune, emerged in our vast countryside. The emergence of the people's commune enlarged and improved collective ownership of the means of production already existing in the countryside and greatly promoted the development of agricultural production and the national economy as a whole. It had extremely far-reaching historical significance for consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

Basic completion of the socialist transformation in respect to the system of ownership made hundreds of millions of peasants take a step of decisive significance along the socialist road. However, did it mean that the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside had thus ended? Of course not. From agricultural cooperation up to now, Chairman Mao has time and again taught us that we must not,

because of the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership, forget the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle, forget about the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, and forget the danger of capitalist restoration. Chairman Mao also pointed out: "After a cooperative is established, it must go through many more struggles before it can be consolidated. Even then, the moment it relaxes its efforts it may collapse." Facts prove that the overthrown exploiting class has invariably attempted to stage a comeback and has never ceased its sabotage activities for even a moment. In the countryside, there also exist conditions and soil that breed capitalism and the bourgeoisie. For example, Lin Piao's revisionist line represented the aspiration for restoration of capitalist forces in town and countryside. Consequently, even with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership, the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism in the countryside continues, a struggle which has revolved around the question of whether to consolidate and develop or weaken and disintegrate the socialist collective economy.

Within the collective economy, whether on production policy, business management or distribution of income, there is a question of orientation and road. For example, in management, the question is whether to "take grain as the key and insure an all-round development" or to emphasize sideline production and slight agriculture, to engage in commerce at the expense of agriculture. In planting, the question is whether to follow the guidance of state planning or carry out free planting. In marketing of products, it is one of whether to implement the policy laid down by the state or keenly promote free trade. In distribution of income, the question is whether to take into concurrent consideration the interests of the state, the collective and the individual or unilaterally emphasize personal interests and distribute and eat all without reserving anything. And so on and so forth. Not all communes and brigades can correctly handle all these questions in accordance with the Party's general and specific policies. Some, in total disregard of the needs of the state and the people, simply run after economic incomes, plant crops freely, and enlarge the contradiction between production and needs. Some do not follow state regulations in marketing farm and subsidiary products and even sell them at higher prices through the channel of free trade in violation of policies. Some hand out more work-points and higher subsidies, thereby widening the pay differences. These practices not only erode the thinking of cadres and commune members, but also often lead to speculation, corruption and theft. The above facts show that the struggle between the two roads within the collective economy still remains rather fierce. The revisionist line and capitalist forces often interfere with the orientation of development of the collective economy from within. We cannot therefore think that, since the individual economy has been turned into the collective economy and small production into collective production, the socialist road will be firmly followed. Quite the contrary, within the collective economy, there exists constantly the question of what line to be implemented. Also, we must not think that we can afford to slacken our vigilance now that the socialist collective economy is gradually growing and strengthening. If we fail to do well and deviate from the Party's line and policies, the collective economy may still degenerate.

The struggle in these aspects within the collective economy is inseparable from the existence of bourgeois rights. Although the collective economy of the people's commune has been established in the countryside, bourgeois rights still exist in different degrees in various aspects of the relations of production. Given the existence of the commodity system and exchange by means of money, agricultural and subsidiary products of the people's communes still come under the category of commodity production, and the law of value still plays a role within a certain scope. In these circumstances, capitalist tendencies may develop and regression and restoration may even take place if we do not implement the line correctly, do not follow the right policies, and fail to grasp ideological and political work conscientiously. Some communes and brigades are not clear on this question. In respect to distribution, they practice "material incentives" and "work points in command" instead of persistently putting politics in command and ideology in the lead; in exchange, they simply seek to boost their incomes instead of strictly implementing state plans and instructions. In the field of ownership, they extend private plots and family sideline occupations willfully instead of insuring the development and predominance of the collective economy. All this inevitably leads to the expansion of bourgeois rights and the weakening of the collective economy. Some people may grab a lot of money in the course of exchange of commodities through legal and largely illegal means, and turn this money into capital with which to engage in speculation or practice usury. And gradually, they will become new bourgeois elements. To be sure, it is impossible and wrong to abolish forthwith private plots and eliminate all bourgeois rights in disregard of today's rural concrete conditions. Therefore, whether to properly restrict or continuously extend bourgeois rights is an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes and two lines. We must take the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a guide and persist in having bourgeois rights "restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." At the same time, we must conscientiously investigate and study the development and changes in the various aspects of the relations of production, in the collective economy of people's communes, incessantly sum up experience, and heighten our awareness in restricting bourgeois rights so as to gradually dig away the soil breeding capitalism and the bourgeoisie in the long process of socialist revolution.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The struggle between the two roads reflected within leading groups at various levels of the people's commune essentially involves what kind of line is implemented and which class exercises leadership. If leadership is in the hands of genuine Marxist-Leninists and the poor and lower-middle peasants, it will be possible to conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, lead the peasants to firmly take the socialist road, and consolidate and develop the collective economy. If the leadership follows an incorrect ideological and political line, it will lead the peasants astray and ruin the collective economy. In places where serious capitalist tendencies exist, they are often inseparable from the lack of consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat on the part of the leadership there and its failure to seriously grasp the struggle between the two roads. Particularly, it is worth nothing that, following the development of the socialist revolution, a handful of class enemies continually change their tactics in attacking

the collective economy. Some exploit the weaknesses of certain basic-level cadres who relish bourgeois right to woo and corrupt them. Some attempt to change the Party's line and policies and restore capitalism through their agents within the Party usurping leadership. If leadership is seized by a handful of class enemies or old and new bourgeois elements, they will carry out capitalist activities under the signboard of socialism, and in that case, socialist collective ownership will exist in name only and degenerate into a "collective capitalist organization."

In the struggle between the two roads in the countryside, therefore, we must pay full attention to the Party's ideological and organizational building and to the education of cadres in communes and brigades. It must be affirmed that the overwhelming majority of our cadres in communes and brigades are good or fairly good. They lead the peasants to take the socialist road and play an important role in the three major revolutionary movements. However, some comrades still in different degrees entertain certain ideas and habits of small producers. If they are not alert, they are susceptible to corruption and attack by the bourgeoisie, and fall prey to the bourgeois lifestyle. In dealing with these comrades, we must mainly organize them to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, sum up experience in practice, and strengthen the transformation of their world outlook, so that they will clearly see, in light of the line, the differences between Marxism and revisionism and between socialism and capitalism and raise their awareness in implementing the Party's basic line. By heightening their ideological awareness, cadres in communes and brigades will be able to better implement the Party's basic line and policies, assure socialist orientation of the collective economy, and fulfil the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in all basic-level units.

In his important instruction on the question of theory, Chairman Mao cites Lenin's thesis that "small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeois continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." He points out further that after agricultural cooperation the transformation of small producers will remain a long-term and arduous task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. So long as the collective ownership has not been raised to the level of ownership by the whole people, and until the remnants of the individual economy are totally eliminated, we must continue to carry out socialist education among the peasants. The masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are proletarians and semi-proletarians in the countryside. They are the enemies of all exploiting systems and classes. They are determined to take the socialist road and develop the collective economy, continuing to raise their socialist awareness under the Party's education. They are a reliable ally of the working class. However, among them there are still some people who retain in different degrees certain characteristics inherent in small producers and may still be corrupted by capitalism. As to some well-to-do peasants, under Party education though they have taken the road of cooperativization, yet their spontaneous capitalist tendencies remain comparatively serious. They always want to use the commodity system and exchange by means of money to carry out speculative activities. This is a reflection among peasants of the "struggle between declining capitalism and growing communism." The task of Party organizations at all levels is to persistently educate the peasants with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, incessantly instill socialist ideas into their minds, and, through painstaking ideological and political work, help them gradually

eradicate the ideas of small producers and do away with the influence of bourgeois ideas. In carrying out this work, we must realize not only that small production engenders capitalism daily and hourly, but also that socialist factors in the countryside are growing daily and hourly as well. We must not only fully realize the protracted and difficult nature of the task of reforming the small peasant economy, but also fully believe that the majority of peasants are enthusiastic in following the socialist road. "The shortcomings or mistakes of the working people can be overcome or corrected through suitable political work." In dealing with capitalist tendencies among the peasants, we must implement the policy of "unity-criticism-unity", educate them positively, and help them raise their awareness for socialism in the course of struggle and consciously make a complete break with the habits and influence of small producers. Even today, we must still adhere to the series of proletarian policies formulated for us by Chairman Mao in correctly dealing with peasants of all strata. So long as we persevere in doing this, our work in the countryside will be carried out along the correct path, and deviations can be easily discovered and corrected.

Twenty years ago, Chairman Mao taught us: "The peasant masses are ready to advance step by step along the road of socialism under the leadership of the Party"; "The Party is capable of leading the peasants along this road of socialism." The development of history has proved the absolute correctness of this assertion of Chairman Mao's. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee, people throughout the country have for the past 20 years carried out a series of socialist revolutions--one more profound than the preceding one--in the realms of politics, economy, ideology and culture in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao. The peasant masses have marched forward with giant strides along the socialist road, rendered tremendous contributions to the socialist construction of the fatherland, and brought about earth-shaking changes in the backward and poor countryside. However, it will still take a long time to thoroughly complete the socialist transformation of the ownership system in the countryside, our revolutionary tasks in the superstructure remain arduous, and the level of agricultural mechanization remains low. All this calls for our continuous and strenuous efforts. We must deepen the socialist revolution in the countryside on the basis of the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat, and strive to continuously get rid of the soil and conditions breeding capitalism and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Study Some Political Economy

by

Wu Ch'ang (吳暢)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

In order to study well Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, the broad masses of cadres, workers, peasants and soldiers are studying some political economy around the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in close conjunction with reality. This study is very meaningful and in many places carried out in connection with investigations on selected topics. Such study activities are vivid and lively.

In his important instruction on the question of theory, Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, analyzed the economic base and superstructure in socialist society, and put forth an important theoretical problem, namely, in a socialist society, after public ownership of the means of production has been established, there are still not only political and ideological conditions but also economic soil engendering new bourgeois elements. This mainly refers to the commodity system, exchange by means of money, distribution according to work, and so forth. These things, which are not much different from those in the old society, can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The commodity system, exchange by means of money and distribution according to work are all questions in the sphere of political economy. We cannot understand these questions without studying some basic principles of political economy. Once we have thoroughly understood these questions, we can better understand and grasp the spirit and essence of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and more deeply understand the question, "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie?"

Political economy is a science studying the laws of development of the relations of production. Marx's theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and his theory that there are still bourgeois rights in the early phase of communism are scientific conclusions obtained from the laws of economic and political movements in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. Lenin said: "Marx did not unscrupulously cram a small part of 'bourgeois' rights into Communism, but grasped the unavoidable economic and political things in society emerging from capitalism." Starting from the laws of development of the relations of production, we can see very clearly that since socialist society emerges from capitalism, new things inevitably carry remnants of the old. Therefore, our country must now still practice a commodity system, exchange by means of money and distribution according to work.

The commodity system and exchange by means of money have existed for several thousand years and passed through several different social systems. Although they reflect different relations of production under

different systems of ownership, the basic attributes and characteristics of commodities and money remain more or less the same. For example, commodity has a dual nature: use value and value; money is a general equivalent, the medium for commodity exchange, and the general embodiment of social wealth; the basic law of commodity production is the law of value, under whose domination small production would polarize and continuously engender capitalism, etc. The conditions of distribution according to work also differ. Distribution according to work is impossible in capitalist society. From each according to his ability and to each according to his work is a socialist principle. However, as in distribution "the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, so far as this is exchange of equal values," "equal right here is still--in principle--bourgeois right." Hence, this, too, differs little from the old society. In order to get clear on these questions, it is necessary to study some basic Marxist principles concerning value and surplus value. Some comrades say: We handle commodities every day, yet we know nothing about the commodity system; we handle banknotes every day, yet we do not understand exchange by means of money; and although we handle wages every day, we do not understand distribution according to work. It is really dangerous if we do not see these things as important economic sources for the breeding of capitalism and new bourgeois elements. This indeed is a very profound understanding.

Engels said: "Political economy is in essence a historical science." This means that political economy is the study of the economic laws of human society in its various stages of development. The capitalist system has its own special laws, so does the socialist system. In his important instruction on the question of theory, Chairman Mao points out: "China is a socialist country." Compared with the old society, "what is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." This shows us the essential distinction between socialism and capitalism. Therefore, when we study our country's existing commodity system, exchange by means of money and distribution according to work, it is not enough just to recognize the most common laws applicable to all forms of production and exchange, it is also necessary to know the special laws governing socialist production and exchange and to see that the relations of production they reflect differ from those of the old society. That is to say, we must not only understand the basic principles of Marxist political economy, but also use these as a weapon to study the socialist relations of production and their laws.

Besides seriously studying the relevant expositions in Marxist-Leninist classical works, we must also seriously study Chairman Mao's theses on socialist revolution and socialist construction. In the great practice of leading China's socialist revolution and construction, Chairman Mao has applied the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to sum up the experience at home and abroad, systematically expounded the economic laws of socialism, and enriched and developed Marxist political economy. Chairman Mao's comprehensive analysis of the basic contradictions and class contradictions in socialist society and his important thesis on the need to restrict bourgeois right existing in the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work from the plane of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat not only deal a heavy blow to revisionist theories but

have also changed some one-sided, metaphysical concepts which have been in our minds regarding socialist political economy for a long time, thereby opening up a vast world for research work in socialist political economy. When we seriously study and thoroughly understand Chairman Mao's theory on the harmony as well as conflcit between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society, it is not difficult for us to understand why "under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois rights, but even the bourgeois state--without the bourgeoisie!" and why it is necessary not only to recognize the inevitability of certain parts of bourgeois rights but also to restrict it. Thus we will also be able to deeply understand the concrete manifestations of bourgeois rights in the spheres of ownership, distribution and exchange and its specific laws for the engendering of new bourgeois elements and capitalism. Moreover, we will be able to "accurately study the scope of such phenomena and find the appropriate methods by which the state can supervise and control it (and not to suppress, or to be more exact, not to prohibit it)," namely, in which respects and segments we should have bourgeois rights restricted. For many years Chairman Mao has made a number of important expositions on the study of political economy and on the question of bourgeois right, and these we should also study.

Political economy has a strong class character and party spirit. The bourgeoisie has its own political economy, so does the proletariat. And revisionist political economy is nothing but bourgeois political economy wrapped in the Marxist cloak. In studying political economy, we must have a clearcut aim, a target. At present, our main purpose is to study well Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and to fight revisionism. Chairman Mao points out, "an important task on the ideological front at present is to unfold criticism of revisionism." In their criminal activities of restoring capitalism, ringleaders of the revisionist line like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao always distorted Marxism theoretically. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has also tried by a thousand and one ways to tamper with Marxist principles and castrate the revolutionary soul of Marxism. Studying some political economy can help us ideologically to distinguish between Marxism and revisionism, to discern the counter-revolutionary essence of revisionism, to wage a resolute struggle against it and win the victory. Seen from the study experience of some units, those that have combined this with the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in light of realities, criticized revisionism, the bourgeoisie and the idea of bourgeois rights have attained relatively good study results.

Following the development of socialist revolution and construction in our country, political economy is being released from the classroom and books and is becoming every day a sharp weapon in the hands of the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They and the revolutionary cadres are not only willing to study but are studying it with good results. They say: "Political economy deals with things that concern us all. In the past we said it was difficult to study. Now, studying it together with the

theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in light of reality, we find it easier to comprehend." Once the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres have mastered the basic principles of Marxist political economy and thoroughly understood the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in theory and practice, political economy will turn into a powerful material force for combating and preventing revisionism and for strengthening all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

* * *

Comment on Lin Piao's Philosophy of National Betrayal

by

Liang Hsiao (梁效)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

The Chinese nation cherishes independence and freedom and is rich in the glorious tradition of resisting foreign aggression and oppression. For thousands of years the struggle between the two lines--patriotism and national betrayal--has never ceased in the long river of historical development of our mother country. But in different historical periods it has had different class content. Under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, owing to basic changes in the nature of state power, this struggle is closely linked up with the struggle for and against restoration in the socialist period and becomes an important aspect of the struggle between the Marxist and revisionist lines. Since new China was founded, chieftains of the various opportunist lines within the Party have all practiced restoration at home and national betrayal abroad. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao is a very typical teacher by negative example. This out-and-out disciple of Confucius and Mencius exalted Mencius' fallacy "small states imitate the large" as the theoretical basis for capitulation and national betrayal.

Unashamed to Receive Commands Or Rise Up in Revolution?

"Now the small states imitate the large, and yet are ashamed to receive their commands. This is like a scholar's being ashamed to receive the commands of his master." ("Mencius: Li Lou Part I") Small and weak states should wait upon and obey the large and strong ones in the same manner as students obey their teachers, submissively and without feeling ashamed. This is nothing but a reactionary fallacy justifying capitulation. More than two thousand years have elapsed and Lin Piao harped on the old tune and included this remark by Mencius in their "collection of sayings from Four Books" and posted it on the wall of his office as a daily reminder to be praised and admired.

In Lin Piao's eyes the "large states" are the two hegemonic powers--the United States and the Soviet Union, first and foremost Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. He described the relations between the superpowers and the great number of developing countries as relations between "teachers" and "students" and did his utmost to cover up the imperialist nature of the former, thereby fully revealing his features as a traitor.

Lenin pointed out: We should "divide the nations into oppressor nations and oppressed nations. Such a division is determined by the imperialist nature." ("The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of National Self-Determination") After the Opium War of 1840 China was reduced step by step into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. Numerous times its land was cut into pieces, numerous times it lost its sovereignty and endured humiliation, and numerous times its people perished and their homes broken up! From their personal historical experience of the last century the Chinese people have deeply recognized that colonialist and

imperialist large states, so far from being "teachers" to the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples, are the chief culprits who have pushed these oppressed nations and peoples into the abyss of deep privations and are their most ferocious enemies!

Today the world situation has undergone momentous changes. But we are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Both the US and the USSR, the two hegemonic powers, are trying energetically to place the great number of developing countries under their respective control in different forms. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, putting on the posture as "a good teacher and beneficial friend," practices deception everywhere to push its hegemonic policies. It declares "support for national liberation movements," offers what it calls "military and economic assistance," sends out men and lends money, having a complete set of "experience" and "theories." However, whoever invites it to be his "teacher" would bring the maternal grandmother, the bear, into his house, sure to be stricken with disaster and inflicted with suffering. Don't you want to ask it to be your "teacher"? It would become your old man riding on your back. The imperialist and hegemonic acts of the superpowers have aroused the strong resistance of the people of the Third World and the people of the whole world. In calling for "small states to imitate the large," opposing the anti-hegemonic struggle by the world's people and vainly attempting to turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionism, Lin Piao had shamelessly betrayed the Chinese people and the oppressed nations and peoples of the world! At present, it is noteworthy that to those places where US imperialism has suffered defeats and is obliged to withdraw, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has ambitiously sought to extend its influence by overt and covert means. People of various countries rich in the experience of anti-imperialist struggle will certainly see through the plots and tricks of the superpowers, watch out and prevent "the tiger from entering through the rear door while resisting the wolf at the front door," so that their aggressive and expansive policies cannot succeed.

As regards the aggression-like colonialism and imperialism, should one be unashamed to receive their commands or rise up in revolution against them? These are two basically antagonistic lines. Like the oppressed peoples of the world, the Chinese people have never accepted the "commands" to be invaded and exploited from colonialism and imperialism! Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, we have inherited and developed the glorious anti-imperialist and patriotic tradition and waged a national liberation struggle on an unprecedented scale, expelling the imperialists and ushering in the spring of victory of the liberation. In the early days of the liberation, when the US imperialists were spreading the fire of aggression to the brink of the Yalu River, we and the heroic Korean people together routed them at a time when they appeared all-conquering. In the early 1960's, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique struck suddenly, opposing China and communism, withdrawing its specialists, tearing up contracts, promoting subversion, and applying all sorts of pressures in a vain attempt to force us to "yield." Since coming to power Brezhnev has intensified his anti-China drive. "We the Chinese people have spines." We strongly rebuffed the Russian teacher, firmly criticized modern revisionism, and beat back the provocations of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we

persisted in achieving rejuvenation through self-reliance, not only mastering the atomic weapons but also sending a man-made earth satellite playing the music "East Is Red" to the sky. This greatly deflated the arrogance of the nuclear overlords and boosted the morale of the revolutionary people of the world. This was the best answer to the "commands" of colonialism and imperialism!

Unabashedly Lin Piao accused the Chinese people who waged the struggle against the superpowers of "being ashamed to receive commands," and regarded his capitulation and national betrayal as most glorious. According to Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, such a superpower as Soviet revisionism could only be a "teacher" who could not be "rebuffed," and its "commands" could only be "accepted," not "resisted." Anyone who challenged this would run counter to the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius, that "small states imitate the large." This is downright capitulationist logic, the philosophy of a traitor!

Refute the Theory "National Betrayal Brings Peace and Tranquillity"

"When a small state waits upon a large state, it will be treated generously by the latter" is a sentence Lin Piao wrote with his own hand. In his view, if a small state waited upon a large state, and a weak state upon a strong one, it would be given peace and tranquillity.

What a theory "national betrayal brings peace and tranquillity"!

Can the world with imperialism, particularly the superpowers, have peace and tranquillity? No, it cannot. Lenin pointed out: "The content of imperialist politics is 'world domination' and the continuation of this politics is imperialist war." ("A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism'") Imperialism is always committed to external aggression; it always wants to exploit and enslave more and more countries. How can it let them live in "peace and tranquillity"? Today, the US and the USSR, the two superpowers, are colliding head on, violently contending with each other throughout the world. Wherever they contend with each other, disturbances ensue. Sometimes they may reach some temporary collusion and compromises, but these are for greater contention. Their acute contention will one day lead to world war. The contention for hegemony between the US and the USSR is the source of the current world disquiet. The economic crisis in the Western capitalist world is deepening with each passing day. Nor does Soviet revisionist social-imperialism have a good time; it begs external alms, relies on internal debts, and finds itself in a predicament from which it cannot extricate itself. The various basic contradictions in the world are being further sharpened. Imperialism always tries its best to shift the crisis onto others and seek a way out through war. The Brezhnev renegade clique is now embarking on the old road of Hitler. The proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples will seek their way out through revolution. Factors for revolution and war are growing. Either the imperialists fight one another or the people rise up to make revolution. As long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there will be no peace and tranquillity in the world, there will be no permanent peace.

Peace and tranquillity are impossible with the small waiting upon the big and the weak serving the strong. In Chinese history did those who capitulated and offered their masters tribute including their sons and daughters, jade and silk have any peace and tranquillity? In modern history, from Li Hung-chang and Yüan Shih-k'ai to Chiang Kai-shek, everyone of them was an expert on fawning upon foreign powers and selling out their country, signed the humiliating "treaties" which deprived China of sovereignty, ceded land and paid indemnity. However, in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal old China, the imperialist aggressors time and again trampled with their iron boots on the beautiful land of our mother country, and did it ever have any peace and tranquillity?

Then let us look at the "big socialist community" under Soviet revisionism. It is a unique portrayal of such theory of peace and tranquillity. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, using such shackles as the "Warsaw Treaty Organization" and "Comecon," locked up its so-called "fraternal states" behind the barbed wire of the "big community" and practiced savage colonial rule. The new Tsars of the Kremlin, regarding themselves as the master party and the suzerain state, station heavy troops on the national soil of others, encroaching on their sovereignty, interfering with their internal affairs and acting like a bully and lawlessly. Is this the "peace and tranquillity" it has brought? It practices monopoly to a high degree, pushes the so-called "international division of labor," and turns some countries into its livestock farms and orchards and some other countries into its processing plants and raw material bases, willfully plundering the people of various countries in the "big community." Is this the "peace and tranquillity" it has brought? It only allows the officials to set fire and does not allow the people to light their lamps. While it may do anyting it pleases, it won't tolerate the least dissent of others, on whom disasters will befall. It does not scruple to use heavy troops to suppress the resistance of the patriots and occupy the whole of their country. Numerous facts prove that for a small state to wait on a big state and a weak state on a strong state will bring, not peace and tranquillity, but national humiliation, state subjugation and the sufferings of its people.

The maintenance of state independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity can depend only upon the struggle of the people of various countries and not on begging imperialism. The really powerful strength does not belong to the superpowers but to the people. The splendid victories of the people of various countries in Indochina set a shining example for the people of small and weak states to defeat the large imperialist countries. "Numerous facts have shown that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country." It is only when colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation are completely wiped out on the earth that the people of the world can achieve genuine peace and tranquillity, happiness and emancipation.

Getting the "Atom" Is False, Selling Out the Country Is Real

"Wait till we obtain the atom and then get tough." One who does not have the atom bombs can only wait on the nuclear overlord--this is another ground for Lin Piao's capitulationist, traitorous line in "having a small state imitate the large."

Under the situation where the superpowers practiced nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail against us, whether we should break this nuclear monopoly or yield to nuclear pressure was fully manifested in the opposition between the two lines--patriotism and national betrayal. As early as 1963, Lin Piao and company,crawling under the feet of the nuclear overlord, Soviet revisionism, had malignantly attacked our Party's anti-revisionist struggle as "wanting to fly before having full feather." They said pretentiously: "Wait till we obtain the atom and then get tough." It seemed that without nuclear weapons we should abandon the fundamental principle of Marxism and follow the baton of Soviet revisionism, that we should sell out our state sovereignty and submit to enslavement and control by the nuclear overlord. This is a traitorous theory built on the basis of the theory that weapons decide everything. It is people, not one or two new weapons, that decide the outcome of war. The atom bomb in the hands of the imperialists is but a paper tiger that scares people a little bit. China is a socialist country. When we had no nuclear weapons, we refused to yield to the superpowers; after we have acquired nuclear weapons, we shall never become a superpower.

In fact, "wait till we obtain the atom and then get tough" is merely a deceptive phrase. Please look, when we had acquired not only the atom bomb but also the hydrogen bomb, what did Lin Piao do? In 1971, in that plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, "Outline of 'Project 571'," he shamelessly implored Soviet revisionism for "protection under the nuclear umbrella," and admitted his intention to turn to Soviet revisionism for counter-revolutionary support for them to restore capitalism in China. It can be seen that what Lin Piao and his gang of traitors really wanted was not to get the "atom" but to restore the old order, find a backstage boss and sell out the country for their own glory. If Lin Piao's conspiracy had succeeded, China would have been reduced into a colony of Soviet revisionism. In such a time the Lin family dynasty, under the feet of social-imperialism, could only be a scabby dog with a broken spine, unable to survive for half a minute without a blood transfusion by its master. How,then, could it "fly" and "get tough"? When imperialism and social-imperialism do not even permit the colonial and semi-colonial countries to have an independent economy, they will never allow them to have independent possession of atomic weapons. Even if we, like Li Hung-chang in the old days who relied on imperialism in conducting "foreign affairs" and manufacturing "foreign guns," had depended on the left-over from social-imperialism and exploded a foreign nuclear device, we still could not leave the nuclear umbrella of the big foreign master.

Lin Piao's national capitulationist fallacies such as "small states imitate the large," "when a small state waits upon a big one, it will be treated generously by the latter" and "wait till we get the atom

and then get tough" have a black thread running through them: fearing the enemy like a tiger, fearing imperialism. This was linked to his Right pessimistic view "how long can the red flag be kept flying" spread during the internal class struggle and to his class capitulationism, his fear of engaging the enemy in decisive battles and his opposition to Chairman Mao's wise policies on the Northeast battlefield. Lin Piao's national betrayal manifested in a concentrated manner the characteristics of the big landlord and big capitalist classes. Just as Chairman Mao criticized Chiang Kai-shek and his band of traitors in those years, "before them there is no question whatever of whether or not to become a slave of a subjugated nation, for they have removed the national boundaries and their interests are inseparable from the interests of imperialism."

Betraying the country, surrendering to the enemy and leading the wolf into the house--this has been a habitual tactic of reactionaries of past ages as well as an important aspect of the Confucian line of national betrayal. Those reactionary political forces in history, who pushed the Confucian line and practiced restoration and regression, had no future and no hope and could not gain the people's support, in spite of their possession of power and wealth. As they were about to perish, they would always wage a death-bed struggle, and in doing so they often had to seek the help of aggressive forces. However, the harder they performed, the more quickly and thoroughly they would be spurned by the people. Lin Piao did not depart from this law. In early September 1971, when the movement to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work was continuing to deepen, the conspiracy of Lin Piao and company to stage an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat quickly aborted. They sensed their approaching doomsday, and before they defected, Lin Piao gave this oral instruction: "Chung Erh lived in peace abroad; Shen Sheng lived in danger at home." Duke Wen of Tsin, Chung Erh, was a capable historical figure, and Lin Piao, this counter-revolutionary clown, could but be made a laughing stock when he likened himself to Chung Erh. However, this fully revealed his counter-revolutionary ferocious features, that he still had not given up but dreamed of making a comeback. He vainly attempted to defect to the Soviet revisionists and, relying on social-imperialism's bayonets and tanks, to drown the Chinese people in a blood bath. But the result was that he lifted a rock only to have it drop on his own feet, broke his head in the sand, and became a heap of dog dung to be despised by mankind.

Criticize National Betrayal, Bury the Comprador Slavish Philosophy

With the bankruptcy of Lin Piao's theory of "small states imitating the large," Soviet revisionism's hope to subvert our country has been shattered once again. However, the struggle for and against restoration has not come to an end, indeed far from it. We must carry on for a long time the struggle to criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's and Lin Piao's revisionist line of capitulation, national betrayal and fawning upon foreign powers and admiring foreign things. We must completely sweep away the ideological rubbish of imperialism and the landlord and bourgeois classes and wipe out the pernicious influence of revisionism.

The Chinese people who have stood up will never again be humiliated by imperialism and social-imperialism. Relying on our own strength, we are able not only to defeat all reactionaries at home and abroad but also to build our country into a modern and strong socialist country before the end of this century. The people of various countries should learn from and support one another. In line with the policy of "making foreign things serve China," we learn--on our own initiative and in an analytical manner--from things beneficial to our country, but our policy always rests on our own strength. We import some comparatively advanced technologies from foreign countries for the purpose of learning from them so that we may quickly catch up with and not crawl behind others. Should we admire and cherish blind faith in foreign things and, believing that "the moon abroad is rounder than China's," rely on others in doing everything, we would lose our political and economic independence and again become a colony or semi-colony. We should never forget the painful historical lessons of the last century.

As we look around the world now, we see that the two hegemonic powers, the US and the USSR, are surrounded by crises and beset with a host of difficulties, while our great socialist mother country is full of vigor and vitality, flourishing with every passing day. During the movement in which the people of the whole country are studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, to further liquidate Lin Piao's philosophy of national betrayal will not only enable us to more deeply comprehend the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line but will also greatly excite our proletarian patriotism and national pride, enhance nationwide stability and unity, accelerate the development of the national economy and help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have the ambition and the ability to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced levels in the not distant future, make more contributions to mankind, and better fulfill our bounden internationalist obligations.

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Further Strengthen Party Unity

by

Ch'ing Yen (青岩)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

Guided by the series of important instructions given by Chairman Mao, the masses and cadres are studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a deepgoing way, actively promoting stability and unity, and developing the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. With this struggle as the motive force, they have also stepped up socialist construction and endeavored to build our country into a powerful socialist state before the end of this century. This revolutionary situation calls upon our Party to further strengthen its unity, enhance its fighting capacity, and better lead the masses and cadres in advancing along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Ours is a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat with the Party exercising leadership in everything. Chairman Mao says: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." Strengthening Party unity is a very important question to strengthening its centralized leadership. The 54-year history of our Party has proved that only by continuously strengthening Party unity to achieve uniformity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action can the leading role of the Party be brought into full play.

Chairman Mao had said on the eve of the War of Resistance Against Japan: "It is only through the unity of the Communist Party that the unity of the whole class and the whole nation can be achieved, and it is only through the unity of the whole class and the whole nation that the enemy can be defeated and the national and democratic revolution accomplished." ("Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front") Here he not only touched on the question of relationship between the unity of the Party and the unity of the masses, but also dwelt on the importance of Party unity and the unity of the masses to fulfilling the tasks of the revolution. Re-studying this teaching of Chairman Mao's today still warms our hearts. Our socialist cause is the cause of the masses. To develop the excellent situation of stability and unity, deepen the socialist revolution and quicken the pace of socialist construction, it is necessary to rely on the masses to fight in unity and with concerted efforts. "With the masses united, everything is easier." ("A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily") How can we get the masses united to struggle for a single revolutionary goal? The primary question is the strengthening of Party unity. It is essential to rely on a highly centralized and united party to mobilize and organize the masses. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat having close relations with the masses and enjoying very high repute among them. The condition of the Party has a great influence on the masses. The experience of bringing about stability and unity in various localities shows that when real unity is achieved within the Party, the unity of the masses will be enhanced. When problems concerning Party unity are solved, problems among the masses also

will not be difficult to settle. We must seriously sum up experience and lessons in this respect so as to facilitate the fulfillment of the various tasks of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The period of socialism is a period of revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism. All of the work our Party is now leading the masses to do, whether in the political and economic fields or in the ideological and cultural spheres, is, in the final analysis, geared to bringing about this change. The task is very arduous as the struggle is very acute and complicated. In order to hamper the advance of the socialist cause and turn back the wheel of history, the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the newly engendered bourgeois elements will invariably try to split our Party and look for and cultivate their agents within our Party by such means as bribery and corruption. Also, making use of those capitalist and feudal trash left over from the old society, they will launch frenzied attacks on the proletariat in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields. Capitalist spontaneous tendencies and the force of old habits of small production are likewise constantly contaminating us. Faced with such a situation, we must strengthen Party unity and "pool all our forces together and concentrate them on the same point of attack ("Letter from Engels to Carlo Terzaghi"), in other words, to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. With Party unity strengthened, it will be possible to correctly implement the Party's line, principles and policies, restrict bourgeois right, curb the erosion of bourgeois ideology, overcome capitalist tendencies, and wage an effective struggle against the class enemies. If the Party is loosely united, a chance will be given to the class enemies to split our Party, thus weakening its fighting capacity.

To go on winning victories in the socialist cause, we must, as Chairman Mao has taught us, "firmly unite all the forces of our Party in line with the principles of organization and discipline under democratic centralism." ("On Coalition Government") This is an important task of Party building today. Party organizations at all levels should keep a firm grip of this work in a practical manner. The individual must obey the organization, the minority the majority, the lower level the higher level and the whole Party the Central Committee--this unified discipline must be strictly observed in order to insure unity from top to bottom and of the whole Party. Each Party member and Party cadre must set an example in forging unity and observing discipline. Army cadres and local cadres, cadres from other places and local cadres, old cadres and new cadres should be modest and prudent, respect and learn from one another, and take the initiative in promoting unity. In particular, members of Party committees at various levels should support, help and understand one another, and on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, make "the squad" united like one man. It should be noted that unity of the "squad" of the Party committee is the key to strengthening Party unity. "If this 'squad' does not act in concert, it can never hope to lead people in their millions to fight and to build." ("Methods of Work of Party Committees") Party committees at all levels should attach importance to their leadership responsibilities. They must put stress on the line, take the interest of the whole into account and give due consideration to the overall situation. Proceeding from the interests of the Party and the people, they must wipe out all unprincipled

disputes and unprincipled factional struggles, actively promote unity, and make the "squad" march in step to strive for a single revolutionary goal.

To strengthen Party unity, it is necessary to correctly handle the contradictions within the Party and develop an active ideological struggle. After the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our Party has never been so solidly united as it is now. However, everything is divided into two, and the Party does not exist without contradictions. Chairman Mao points out: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." ("On Contradiction") Our Party has developed and grown in strength precisely in the struggle of resolving contradictions. Under socialist conditions, there still exist for a long time the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, socialist and capitalist. This struggle invariably is reflected within the Party, giving rise within it to contradictions and struggle. In spite of the fact that contradictions within Party organizations at all levels vary in condition, in the final analysis, they boil down to the question of what line to take and what orientation to adhere to, a question of whether it is possible to uphold the proletariat party spirit and act on revolutionary principles. The emergence of the bourgeois lifestyle among a section of the Party members, including bourgeois factionalism, is precisely the result of corrosion by bourgeois thinking, and an important factor affecting Party unity and solidarity. We must not tolerate and condone these things and, instead, must wage a resolute struggle against them. We must solve some problems in a practical manner by deepening the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Some people neither resist nor struggle against the bourgeois lifestyle that occurs among certain Party members and cadres and dare not solve the problems in this respect because they fear that this may jeopardize Party unity, the relations of the "squad" and the relations between the higher and lower levels and among comrades. This is a big mistake. The experience of many places tells us that opposing and combating the bourgeois lifestyle not only will not damage Party unity, but will strengthen it on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Conversely, if erroneous ideas and incorrect styles of work were allowed to develop unchecked, that would make the Party disorganized and its discipline lax, certain Party members would become corrupt materially and degenerate politically, and the Party's line, principles and policies would not be carried out smoothly. In that case, it would be impossible to bring about Party unity and solidarity. Chairman Mao says: "We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for insuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every communist and revolutionary element should take up this weapon." ("Combat Liberalism") We must comply with Chairman Mao's teachings, uphold principle, and develop an active ideological struggle so as to achieve unity through struggle.

Of course, correct methods are required for solving contradictions within the Party. It should be noted that the contradictions within the Party are largely contradictions among the people. Not to mention those

who have this or that shortcoming or make this or that mistake in work, even in the case of that section of Party members and cadres among whom the bourgeois lifestyle has occurred, most of them also can correct their mistakes through studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the criticism and education by Party organizations as well as assistance from fellow comrades. As to comrades guilty of mistakes, the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" should be applied, and things done in line with the formula of "unity-criticism-unity." Proceeding from the desire for unity, we must make concrete analysis of problems, patiently and meticulously carry out ideological and political work, and help them raise their consciousness of the line, understand the harm and root causes of their mistakes and positively correct them. We must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go and lash out at him." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work")

Studying Marxism and criticizing revisionism is the ideological and political basis for strengthening Party unity. Lenin pointed out: "Without revolutionary theory there can never be a strong socialist political party because revolutionary theory can unite all socialists." ("Our Program") Only where there is unity in ideology and theory will it be possible to have organizational unity and solidarity. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. We must study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat well and deepen criticism of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. We must understand both in theory and practice why is it necessary to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. We must know the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and how to strive to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In so doing, all of us will have a common language and a common goal and truly arrive at unity in thinking as well as in action. If we are ideologically muddle-headed and can neither explain nor clearly see the problems in practice, if we do not know what is Marxism, what is revisionism, what is socialism, what is capitalism, what is bourgeois right, and what is the communist principle, and if we look upon right as wrong and wrong as right in work,then, differences of opinion will inevitably crop up in the Party organization, in the "squad" of the Party committee, and unity will not be forged well. Where revisionism emerges, splittism will appear--this is a law of struggle between the two lines within our Party. To strengthen Party unity we must "seriously read and study and have a good grasp of Marxism," deepen the criticism of the revisionist line and wipe out its pernicious influence. This is a protracted task which must be persisted in.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office and school." This has clearly

pointed out the need for us to strengthen Party unity for the purpose of waging a better fight for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, whether or not the fighting role of the Party is brought into full play is an important hallmark for measuring whether or not a Party organization is truly united. In the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Party organizations at all levels, all Party members and cadres must fight in unity for the common goal of further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and win still greater victories.

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Link Theory with Reality, Push Study to Deepen

by

Ch'ih Heng (池恒)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, August 1, 1975)

The several articles that follow are impressions gained by comrades on various fronts from studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship. From different angles, they tell of how cadres and the masses have applied revolutionary theory to study and analyze practical problems; sum up the concrete experiences in adhering to the socialist road, restricting bourgeois rights and smashing the idea of bourgeois rights; and show how the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship is further deepening.

Whether or not our study can continue to deepen hinges on whether or not we persist in linking theory with reality--an ideological principle. Where we pay attention to linking theory with practice, read and study seriously, attach importance to investigation and study, and make an effort to apply theory to reality, we can make study deepen step by step. On the other hand, if we do not read and study seriously or else confine theoretical study to books and carry out only abstract, generalized discussion, we will feel unable to deepen our study. To study the theory of proletarian dictatorship is to help us recognize the motion of contradiction in socialist society, and master the laws of its development, thereby obtaining guidance for consciously implementing the Party's basic line, carrying out the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and winning new victories in socialist revolution and construction. We must take full cognizance of the great significance of Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory, see the tremendous socialist enthusiasm generated among the people of the whole nation in the course of "getting clear" on the question of proletarian dictatorship, overcome the idea that our study "is more or less completed," and establish the idea of making long-term efforts in study. As may be seen from the following articles, working seriously in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction on integrating theory with reality, using theory to guide practical struggle and again studying theory in the course of practical struggle will bring about a momentous change in the mentality of men and a powerful acceleration in revolutionary work!

Persisting in linking theory with practice and going deep into reality to make investigation and study may enable us to see clearly that the existence of bourgeois rights is unavoidable. As Lenin stated: "It follows that under Communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state--without the bourgeoisie!" There is nothing strange about this. From the viewpoint of unity of opposites, new things always carry with them vestiges of the old. Human society has developed and progressed precisely in the course of the struggle between the new things and the old within society. The socialist society is a

period marked by struggle between nascent communism and withering capitalism. And in socialist society the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines will exist for a long time. In studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we want, concretely and practically, to recognize, expose and analyze these social contradictions, persevere in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, criticize the revisionist line, and adopt correct measures to continue to encourage socialist things to defeat capitalist things and push society forward. Applying the viewpoint of unity of opposites, Chairman Mao has scientifically analyzed the actual conditions of our country, pointing out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." This directive of Chairman Mao's reveals the law of dialectical development of socialist society, and sets forth the principle for us in dealing with bourgeois rights. Some articles tell of how their authors view the restriction of bourgeois rights, explain why it is necessary not only to recognize but also to restrict them, and assert that any attempt to abolish all bourgeois rights at once or else to impose no curb on and allow them to be extended would be contrary to materialist dialectics. Other articles make a study of the appropriate measures to restrict bourgeois rights and the consistency between these measures and the execution of the Party's various principles and policies at the present stage, including the consistency between these measures and the policy of "taking grain as the key link and insuring an all-round development." Such study is far more profound than it had ever been. While studying theory, we must investigate and study problems relating to proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in various spheres and quarters, including a concrete analysis of bourgeois rights, in order to help ourselves to deeply comprehend and thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, principles and policies.

Since the start of the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, both cadres and the masses have gradually increased their understanding of the laws of class struggle in socialist society, becoming more conscious of the need to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, oppose capitalist tendencies and smash the idea of bourgeois rights, and, above all, taking a greater initiative in grasping revolution, promoting production, promoting work, promoting preparations against war and promoting stability and unity. In this respect, there are a large number of heart-stirring incidents. We must sum up the experience and be good at using the personal experiences of cadres and the masses in directing the continuous deepening of study. As shown by the following articles, our cadres, who hold power, have no privileges, serve the people wholeheartedly, and consciously resist erosion by bourgeois ideology; our worker comrades put forward the high-sounding slogan "Though our work differs, we are all masters" and develop production rapidly; a large group of demobilized armymen goes to the countryside to do its part in restricting bourgeois rights and reducing the three major differences, and so on and so forth. All these are solid achievements brought about by studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship. Recently, under the excellent situation where new victories have continually been gained in socialist revolution and construction, China has again successfully launched a man-made earth satellite--a new achievement of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, fighting in unity, grasping revolution and promoting

production, work and preparations against war. All this has once more proved that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Smashing the idea of bourgeois right and propagating communist ideas will have an important effect on whether it is possible to effectively restrict bourgeois rights and gradually dig away the soil engendering the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Once revolutionary theory is mastered by the masses, it will turn into a huge material force. Speaking of the need to make clear the problem of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao especially stresses: "This should be made known to the whole nation." This means that if the people of the whole nation raise their understanding, actively participate in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, consciously curb capitalist tendencies and the idea of bourgeois idea, there will be a reliable guarantee for the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. Hence, to continue to guide the cadres and the masses to persist in linking theory with practice and to deepen their study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship remains our primary task at present--a task which needs to be grasped with further effort.

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Resolutely Follow the Socialist Road, Restrict Bourgeois Rights

by

the Party branch of Hsuchiawu Production Brigade,
P'ingku hsien, Peking Municipality

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In the course of the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we members of the Party branch, together with the poor and lower-middle peasants of the whole brigade, have applied revolutionary theories to analyze and study the history of the development of our brigade's collective economy. In summing up both the positive and negative experiences, we have come to realize that in order to strengthen and develop our collective economy continuously, the most fundamental thing to do is to implement the Party's basic line, firmly follow the socialist road, and restrict bourgeois right with a positive attitude and from a dialectical viewpoint.

Some comrades once felt that when the production level and the degree of collectivism were low, there was no way to restrict bourgeois right, and that when production and the collective cause had developed, bourgeois right would naturally be restricted. However, the dozen years of experience of our brigade show that whether bourgeois right can be restricted does not hinge on the level of production or the degree of collectivism, but on which line and road are followed. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, scores of able-bodied persons in our brigade would go to other areas to take up private jobs to make money each year. A number of people more seriously affected by spontaneous capitalist tendencies would also go out to engage in sideline occupations. As a result, "money is made, but the farmland is laid waste; unity is weakened and the line ignored." Production was poor, with per-mow grain output averaging about 300 catties. The collective became poorer, but a few people got richer and richer, bringing about a new polarization. In 1968, the new Party branch was formed. The conditions of collective production were still bad. But there was a difference. The Party branch led the commune members to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, thus checking the evil capitalist wind and correcting the erroneous tendency to go in for sideline occupation at the expense of agriculture. Manpower was concentrated on farmland capital construction, and the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism was enhanced. When the correct line was followed and bourgeois rights restricted, a new situation appeared in revolution and production. Per-mow grain output hit the target set for areas south of the Yangtze River in 1969, surpassed the 1,000-catty mark in 1971, and soared to 1,260 catties last year. Agriculture, forestry, animal breeding, and sideline production all developed tremendously. Marked increases were registered in both the public fund accumulation and the grain reserve of the collective. Recalling this period and summing up the experience enlightened us greatly. It is untrue that bourgeois right cannot be restricted when the level of production and the degree of collectivism are low. On the contrary, collective production cannot be developed and the degree of collectivism is low precisely because bourgeois rights have not been restricted and Chairman

Mao's revolutionary line has not been followed. A powerful socialist economy and a solid material foundation are achieved precisely in the struggle to restrict bourgeois right and to criticize and overcome the spontaneous capitalist tendencies.

How can we restrict bourgeois right? Judging by the situation in the countryside, it is necessary to seriously implement the Party's various rural policies and principles. Our Party's present policies regarding rural people's communes reflect what the Party's basic line demands, conform to the level of development of productivity and the degree of consciousness on the part of the masses, and embody the relations of dialectical unity between the two aspects--recognizing and restricting bourgeois right. For instance, the Party's policy on private plots and family sideline production is this: provided the development and absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune is insured, commune members may farm small private plots and engage in limited family sideline production. Except for products subject to state control, all other family sideline products can be taken to the trade fairs for sale. However, provisions are made to integrate family sideline production with the collective economy or the state economy as far as possible, and to tighten up market control while curbing speculation. These policies and regulations go hand in hand with restriction of bourgeois right. Not seriously carrying out the Party's principles and policies, everytime there is talk of "restricting" bourgeois rights, some people want to abolish them immediately, or when it is said that they are unavoidable, then refrain from "restricting" them. Both of these are not in the interests of consolidating and developing the socialist collective economy.

Our brigade's experience shows that adhering to or not adhering to the principle of "taking grain as the key link and insuring an all-round development" is a matter of great bearing on restricting bourgeois right and combating capitalist tendencies. Generally speaking, our arrangements for agricultural production are made in a planned way under the unified leadership of the higher Party committee. However, given the existence of commodity production, the law of value and money are still operative, and unless they are restricted, they may breed capitalism. Therefore, it is necessary to insist on planned planting and oppose free planting; to insist on selling products to the state and oppose free sales and private distribution in a disguised form. For instance, some people in our brigade once advocated cutting down the grain acreage, expanding the vegetable acreage, selling vegetables at high prices or distributing them among the commune members so that they might take them to the free market. Our Party branch opposed this idea, resolutely adhered to the Party's policy, and curbed the capitalist tendency of capitalizing on the law of value to engage in free planting. Of course, all-round development must not be ignored while the key link, grain, is grasped. Several years ago, grain production in our brigade increased quite rapidly, but all-round development was not given sufficient attention. Pig raising, for instance, developed slowly. Consequently, some well-to-do households seriously affected by capitalist tendencies took advantage of this situation. They raised sows and sold piglets at high prices. The income drived from this source alone surpassed what they made from the collective. But some commune members could not pay for the expensive piglets and raised no pigs.

Later, we stepped up the work of the collective pig farm, guaranteed commune members supply of piglets, regulated the price of piglets, and curbed the capitalist tendency of "free trade." As a result, the pig raising in our brigade developed considerably. More pigs meant more manure, creating conditions for grain production increases. This episode tells us that restricting bourgeois right does not mean weakening the diversified economy and sideline production; it does mean better implementation of the principle of "taking grain as the key link and insuring an all-round development" Over the past several years, as we have conscientiously carried out the Party's various policies and principles and restricted bourgeois right, our grain production has increased while work in other fields has also developed substantially.

In rural areas, great attention must still be paid to restricting bourgeois right in the field of distribution and correctly enforcing the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". For a period of time in the past, we one-sidedly emphasized the difference in individuals' labor power, particularly that between men and women. This resulted in a very complicated work-point and grading system with vast differentials between grades, causing some people to demand more work points and better treatment and bringing about considerable differences in the real incomes of commune members. In the course of the movement to learn from Tachai, we improved the work-point system. Although labor power was graded, there were fewer grades with small differentials between them. The principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex was firmly upheld. We accorded appropriate care to the old and physically weak and students in respect to work points. Although we gave special consideration to work of stronger technical nature, we did not practice high work points, high subsidies or high distribution of profit. Our attention was primarily directed toward encouraging commune members to willingly take up hard work. In so doing, we narrowed the differences in income between commune members and enabled those households with more mouths to feed but fewer able-bodied adults to increase their income each year. In recent years, not a single household has gone into debt in the entire brigade. This has helped raise the commune members' consciousness of farming for the revolution and foster the concept of "all are becoming well off." There is another important problem in restricting bourgeois right in distribution, that is, correctly handling the relations between accumulation and distribution and, on the basis of increasing production, expanding public accumulations year by year. The special characteristic of the people's commune is its big size and higher degree of public ownership. We must not pay attention only to the private interest and not to the public interest or have all money distributed and undermine the three-level ownership system by leaving nothing to the commune and brigades. In the past, some of our production teams only wanted to distribute more money to their members. With more money in hand, some members began to build their own houses. Some households with little labor power and without cash also wanted to build houses and had to resort to loans, thereby causing difficulties in their livelihood. The building of private houses also entailed competition with the collective for labor, time and land. In view of this, during the past few years we have increased the proportion of public accumulation and prepared to have the collective build houses for the commune members by separate stages and groups. This has greatly educated the cadres and the masses, and everyone feels that restricting bourgeois right and promoting common affluence is the only bright road leading to socialism.

Over the past 20 years and more since liberation, although the peasants have taken the road of collectivization, certain inherent characteristics of small producers have still been seen. Particularly among some well-off peasants, strong spontaneous capitalist tendencies can still be found. To restrict bourgeois right, it is imperative to criticize the idea of bourgeois right, continue to instill socialist ideas into the commune members, and do in-depth and meticulous ideological work among them. In recent years, we have established a theoretical contingent of poor and lower-middle peasants and political evening classes for the peasants, organized the commune members to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, stepped up propagation of communist ideas, and led the cadres and commune members to repudiate the narrow-mindedness of bourgeois right and cherish the idea of plowing for the revolution. We have also established the system of holding "evaluation" meetings, in which the masses are encouraged to commend good men and good deeds and criticize all kinds of ideas of private ownership in the context of realities. Relatively good results have been attained.

In restricting bourgeois right and criticizing the idea of bourgeois right, the cadres must take the lead. Some cadres, using the pretext of more work and responsibilities, demand special treatment; some cadres, failing to treat the masses equally, seldom take part in collective productive labor, and so forth. These are all expressions of the idea of bourgeois right and must be repudiated resolutely. Otherwise, cadres would be divorced from the masses and undermine the cadres-masses relations. In this respect, we have done some work. In the first place, we see to it that cadres seek no special privileges for themselves and accept no invitation to dinner or bribes. They have only the responsibility to serve the people and no right to seek special privileges. They must not feather their own nests by encroaching upon the commune members' legitimate interests. Second, we see to it that cadres regularly take part in collective productive labor and become one with the masses, and are not bureaucrats. No matter how busy the cadres in our brigade may be, they must find time to take part in labor. The Party branch should do its best not to hold meetings during production hours and create the conditions for cadres to take part in labor. Third, we mobilize the masses to take part in management and regularly hold open-door rectifications, during which cadres' erroneous thinking and style of work are criticized and they are helped to correct their mistakes. For their part, the cadres willingly accept the masses' supervision and never stop remolding their world outlook.

Chairman Mao points out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." We realize that restricting and eventually eliminating bourgeois right is a process of continuous revolution, which requires protracted and arduous effort on out part. Although we have done something in this regard, we have only taken the first step. Following the development of revolution, the struggle for and against restriction will become more acute and complicated. Our brigade Party branch is determined to lead all commune members in the brigade to continue to study revolutionary theory conscientiously, bear in mind the situation, and strive to further consolidate and develop the socialist collective economy.

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Apply Theory to the Investigation and Study of Current Conditions in the Countryside

by

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(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao has consistently advocated that we "should apply the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism to a systematic and thorough investigation and study of the surrounding environment." In the upsurge of the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we, acting on this teaching of Chairman Mao's,organized the principal leading comrades at the prefectural and county levels to lead several hundred cadres to go to the grassroots units and to the masses to carry out an investigation and study of the current conditions of class struggle in the countryside using Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory as a compass.

We note that after the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, an excellent situation of stability and unity has prevailed in the countryside. The socialist economy is developing vigorously and the dictatorship of the proletariat is unprecedentedly consolidated. But the struggle between the two classes and two roads in the countryside is still very acute and complicated. As to disturbances and sabotage by the old landlord and rich-peasant elements, we must continue to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over them. But in our effort to understand the class struggle in the countryside, it is not enough to see this alone. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members." This is an important aspect of the current struggle between the two classes and two roads in the countryside. Although I have been engaged in rural work, making rounds of the countryside for many years and keeping in constant touch with the peasants, yet theoretically I am still not clear about the reason why small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously. That is why when I saw certain phenomena I could not understand them deeply. After studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and conducting another survey in the countryside, my understanding in this respect has been considerably deepened. A host of facts show that after cooperation was achieved, the broad masses of peasants and especially the poor and lower-middle peasants continued to enhance their socialist activism. However, in the countryside at the present stage, remnants of private economy still exist, the peasants still preserve certain inherent features of small producers, and, in particular, among the rich peasants the spontaneous capitalist tendencies are quite serious. Indeed, capitalism and the bourgeoisie are being engendered there daily and hourly. This is an important problem. If we comrades engaged in rural work are not clear about it in both theory and practice, we cannot grasp the essentials of rural work or consciously stick to the Party's basic line,nor constantly and continuously grasp the struggle between the two classes and two roads in the countryside.

As small producers, peasants, having lived in a society of private ownership for a long time, have formed strong concepts of private ownership. Especially in the case of rich peasants, they used to be the most ardent worshippers of Marshal Lord Chao and yearned to amass personal fortunes. Even when collectivization was achieved, the soul of Marshal Lord Chao did not vanish from their minds overnight. This is the built-in cause that may possibly lead them back to capitalism. So, Chairman Mao points out: "The serious problem is the education of the peasantry." We must always remain clear-headed and cannot for a single moment relax the education and transformation of the broad masses of peasants. As small production engenders capitalism continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale, we must instill socialism into the peasants in a similar fashion.

Through investigations, we have also realized that under the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship, the rich peasants turn their desire to develop capitalism into a reality mainly by relying on extending bourgeois right in the commodity system, exchange by means of money and distribution according to work. For instance, some, running counter to stipulated policy regulations, willfully expand private plots and take up sideline occupations on a private basis. Some make use of the inequality in distribution according to labor to seek more work points. In more serious cases, people make use of exchange of commodities and trade fairs, abandon agriculture in favor of trading and engage in profiteering activities. Not only do a small number of them make use of temporary imbalances between supply and demand in some areas and regional price differences and illegally sell agricultural and subsidiary products while illegally procuring materials subject to state plans and reselling them at high prices for fabulous profits, but some even organize underground contracting work teams and practice exploitation of wage labor in a disguised form. It is in such a way that a number of new bourgeois elements and upstarts have been engendered.

Spontaneous emergence of capitalism and the bourgeoisie is possible anywhere and in any commune or brigade in the countryside. But why is it that capitalism can freely assert itself in some areas, communes and brigades and is criticized and resisted in some other areas, communes and brigades? This depends on what kind of people hold the leadership. Chairman Mao says: "Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories--I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them--leadership was not in the hands of the genuine Marxists and the masses of workers." This teaching of Chairman Mao's applies to the rural conditions too. While carrying out investigations, we noted that the reason why capitalism could freely assert itself and new bourgeois elements could be engendered in some backward units was that leadership there was not in the hands of Marxists and the poor and lower-middle peasants and capitalist activities had not been checked. Meanwhile, if the leading squad was not strong enough and failed to implement the Party's guidelines and policies effectively, a chance would also be given to capitalism for activity. And the reason why capitalism was unable to develop in some advanced units was not that soil and conditions engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie did not exist there, but that Party leadership there was strong and powerful and capable of adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consciously restricting

bourgeois right, constantly instilling socialist ideas into the peasants, criticizing capitalist tendencies and striking at capitalist activities, so that no opportunity was given to those who wanted to embark on the capitalist road. Facts make us understand more clearly that the key to what road a unit takes and whether it degenerates rests with the leadership, the line. This reminds us of the need to attach the greatest importance to solving the question of leadership in rural basic-level units.

Everything is divided into two. We also noted that when making investigations and study in the countryside, we must learn to view a problem in its entirety and dialectically, avoiding subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality. Otherwise, we cannot really achieve integration of theory and practice nor correctly implement the Party's line and policies. In the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a problem that has been discussed more extensively by everyone is how to treat the relationship between the restriction of bourgeois right and the implementation of the Party's existing policies. Some comrades fail to see the unity between the two and waver ideologically and in action. If we fail to see bourgeois right as soil breeding capitalism and the bourgeoisie and if we see only the need to allow it to exist without having it restricted, we will tend to extend it in violation of the Party's line and policies. Nor do we act in accordance with the present policies of the Party if we see only the need to restrict it and want to abolish all of it without seeing the need to allow it to exist within a clearly defined scope. Basic-level leading groups in the countryside, too, must be subject to an overall analysis. We must first of all note that educated through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the overwhelming majority of cadres are good or fairly good. At the same time, we must also see that influenced by bourgeois thinking, a very small number of them may become or have already become new bourgeois elements. Speaking of the small number of backward communes and brigades, conditions of leading groups also vary, but even in units with serious problems, really bad people are only a handful. If we look at a problem subjectively and onesidedly, we will not be able to correctly apply the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat or act according to the Party's line and policies in solving practical problems arising out of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside to achieve the aim of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Transformation of small producers is an important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "We must not drive away or suppress this kind of people but must live with them in harmony; we may (and must) transform and re-educate them, and only through long, slow, cautious organizational work." Reviewing experience of rural work over a long time, we deeply realize that this teaching of Lenin's is entirely correct. To transform small producers, their mentality and habits calls for a fairly long period, and nothing should be done rashly. As regards the broad masses of peasants, we must give them positive education, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, strictly differentiate and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, carry out patient and conscientious ideological work for their benefit, and continue to raise their socialist consciousness

so as to restrict bourgeois right according to policy and gradually whittle down the conditions which breed and develop capitalism. Firm blows must be dealt to the disruptive activities of the class enemy and to the newly engendered bourgeois elements.
We must believe that only if we constantly and uninterruptedly apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the education of the peasantry, will we be able to help them gradually free themselves from the narrow horizon and traditional concepts of small producers and lead them firmly and unswervingly to embark on the socialist road.

For several months, the leading comrades of our Prefectural Party Committee have combined their study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat with their investigation into the current conditions of rural class struggle. This has given us a clearer idea of the important problem that small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie. We now can explain some problems of which we had but a fuzzy idea before, and have begun to understand how to apply the theory of proletarian dictatorship to solve practical problems. This has enlightened us on many problems such as restricting bourgeois right, resisting the bourgeois style of thinking, and so forth. It is only through investigation and study that we can be clear about them in both theory and practice. If we confine ourselves to our office and leave things to our imagination, we cannot think out any good method or idea for work nor deepen the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. When we change our style, stick to the principle of linking theory with practice, and investigate and study in a big way, we will completely renew our outlook on study. "The movement is developing. New things lie ahead and are endlessly emerging. To study this movement in its entirety and its development is a major subject claiming our constant attention." In order to adapt our own thinking to changing conditions, we must continue to seriously study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat, strive to transform our world outlook and, in the recurrent process of practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge, gradually achieve unity between knowledge and practice and between the subjective and the objective. We must make an effort to be clear on the question of exercising proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie from the plane of linking theory with practice and continue to deepen the study movement.

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Although We Do Different Jobs According to Division of Labor, We All Are Masters

by

Theoretical Group of No. I Workshop of Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill

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Not so long ago the following incident took place in our workshop: A steel-refining group arranged for a No. 4 steel hand to do the job of a No. 6 steel hand. This comrade, however, refused to take the job on the ground that he would "lose face" if he did a job below his standing.

Why can't a No. 4 steel hand do the job of a No. 6 steel hand any more? Why does he feel "loss of face"? There is a reason.

The fact is that for electric furnace steel refining, there are various distinctions from No. 1 to No. 6 steel hands. Number one goes to the worker responsible for the operation of the furnace; number two goes to his assistant; number three to the stand-by; number four to the worker handling raw materials; number five to the worker handling gear and tools;and number six to the worker feeding in the material and taking out slag. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, it was a written rule that: only a grade-6 worker could take charge of the furnace and only a grade-3 worker could operate it. From No. 6 to No. 1 steel-refining hands, workers were to be promoted step by step in accordance with the technical standard set. A worker of a certain grade could only do the work permitted by his grade, and people of "lower grades" must obey people of "higher grades." During the great cultural revolution, these taboos were broken. But the old influence still exists. Some people still use the old gradation concept to look at division of labor under socialist conditions. They say: "The No. 1 steel hand stands head and shoulders above others; the No. 6 steel hand is shorter by three feet." "What the chief of a group says, the rest must do. The one turning up slag must stand aside." Such a hackneyed gradation concept cannot but produce a negative effect on people. On being assigned "work of low grades," some comrades would consider it a case of "bad luck" and "loss of face." This adversely affected their initiative and zeal for work. Other comrades assigned to "work of higher grades" were unwilling to help workers of "lower grades" even when they had finished their work because they were afraid that doing so would "disgrace" them. In other trades and industries, there are similar situations. They say, "Among the 72 occupations, a fitter is king," "technical work is promising, but for those who work in a mess hall there is no future," etc. Obviously, the incident cited above, seen in the context of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, had much to do with the gradation concept born of the old division of labor. It is this idea of bourgeois right that limits people's vision, aids and abets the bourgeois idea of personal fame and gain and departmentalism, affects the perfection of socialist reciprocal relations among men, and prevents the worker masses from bringing their socialist activism into full play.

In the old society, division of work and grading were always inter-related. A forbidding wall of gradation separated one man from another. The laboring people found themselves in the bottom of society. After liberation, "the system of ownership has been changed," thus fundamentally removing the class antagonism between the exploiter and the exploited and together with it the system of gradation itself. The laboring people have become masters of the state and masters of their enterprises. This is an earth-shaking change. But socialist mutual relations do not take shape automatically with the establishment of the socialist system of public ownership. In socialist society today there still exist differences between workers and peasants, town and country, and mental and manual labor, there still exist the eight-grade wage scale, distribution according to work, exchange by means of money, and so forth. Therefore, on this question of "division of work," there is inevitably still traces of the old society.

How should this bourgeois right be correctly dealt with? It won't do to freeze it, let alone extend it. But equally it won't do without division of work. Under socialist conditions, division of work among people in the process of production is indispensable. Take steel refining for example. There must be someone to take charge of a furnace, someone to command, someone to operate, someone to be the No. 1 steel hand, someone to be the No. 2 steel hand, someone to take care of material, someone to look after gear and tools, and someone to collect slag. Without such division of work and without a strict system of individual responsibility and a sense of proletarian organization and discipline, it is impossible to carry out socialist production. In society as a whole, there also exist differences between various kinds of work, but no matter what kind of work one does, it is work needed by revolution and for the building of socialism, like a cog indispensable to the revolutionary cause. Therefore, bourgeois right born of the old division of work must be analyzed, so that both its negative aspect and its inevitability are put in clear perspective; and we must not only recognize but also restrict it. One of the important measures to restrict it is to continue to break down the gradation concept that "some types of work are noble while others are cheap." The more thoroughly this gradation concept is shattered, the more bourgeois right will be restricted when it comes to the mutual relations between men.

To smash the gradation concept, we must energetically promote the communist spirit and correctly handle the mutual relations between men. The workers of our workshop say rightly; "Though we differ in the kind of work we do, we all are masters!" Under this slogan, that comrade who originally refused to work as a No. 6 steel hand, realizing that "there may be thousands of types of revolutionary work, all for the revolution," has now not only taken up the job happily but has also shown concern for the work of the whole group. The chief operator of the furnace and his deputy have also taken the initiative to help with the work of the No. 6 steel hand. In the past, the head of a group had the final say; now, democracy in production is practiced, and everyone's activism is brought into full play. This group has now become an advanced collective fighting in unity. The slogan "Although we differ in our work, we all

are masters" has enabled people to break the narrow horizon of work division. The workers, having rid themselves of the old concept "division of work is like division of family property and separation by a line of work is like separation by a mountain," have set up the new idea "the part is for the whole" and "we should think of the whole and do everything for it." Not only within a group but between one group and another, between one shift and another, and between one type of work and another, socialist coordination is unfolded on a mass scale, with everyone exerting himself to do his own work well and to help with the work of others. Even electricians, drivers and chemists join in helping the steel-makers. There are "group contests" to produce "steel of good style." In the past, to replace the shell of a furnace would take two mechanics 3-4 hours of work. Now, with both steel makers and mechanics working in cooperation, the shell of a furnace is replaced in only 8½ minutes--a new record. This has considerably shortened the time of work stoppage. Thanks to the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the gradation concept has been broken, the relations between people in the course of production have been further perfected. With cadres and the masses of workers fighting in unity, a new atmosphere in revolution and production has appeared. In the first half of this year the quantity of steel produced by our workshop represented 57 percent of the projected output for the whole year. "Half of the time is gone, half of the task is completed"--this has come true.

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Correctly Handle the Relations between Cadres and the Masses

by

CCP Committee of Kunlun Machinery Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

How to restrict bourgeois right in the handling of the relations among people and particularly between the leadership and the masses within a socialist enterprise is a problem which we comrades doing leadership work should constantly study and solve. In the past we were unaware of this problem. After studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and summing up the experience and lessons in connection with reality, we've gained a preliminary understanding of it.

Essentially speaking, mutual relations among people in socialist society are class relations. The establishment of the socialist system of public ownership in our country is "a great struggle, a tremendous change in social system and in the mutual relations between men." The working class and the laboring people, formerly oppressed and exploited, have become masters of the country. A socialist new-type relationship based upon equality and mutual help has been founded within the ranks of the working people. But, this doesn't mean that there is no longer any contradictions among the people or between leaders and the masses. If we look at a problem from the Marxist dialectical viewpoint of unity of opposites, we see that in socialist society, there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there still exists bourgeois right, and the traditional concepts and the force of habit of small production still remain, and that all these things are bound to be reflected in the relations among people and in the relations between leaders and the masses. Therefore, when it comes to the relations among people, we must pay attention to restricting bourgeois right and the leading comrades in particular must pay attention to eradicating the idea of bourgeois right and continue to adjust the relations between the leadership and the masses.

Relations among people include relations between leaders and the masses, which are an important aspect of socialist production relations. They are determined by the system of ownership, but they also react on the system of ownership and play a decisive role under certain conditions. Take our factory for instance. Before the great proletariat cultural revolution, under the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line promoting the "one-chief system," "material incentives," "profit in command" and "management by experts," a strict ranking system was enforced, with cadres and the masses treated quite differently. The idea that the broad masses are the masters could not be promoted, and this had an adverse effect on the development of revolution and production. Since the great cultural revolution was started, the revisionist line and the rank concept have come under heavy fire, and the relations between leaders and the masses have undergone remarkable changes. With the leaders and the masses studying, laboring and talking together, the socialist enthusiasm

of the broad masses has risen steadily, revolution has been deepened step by step, and production has kept on increasing. For five consecutive years the plant has overfulfilled its state plans,with its average annual output value growing by 93 percent over 1965 before the great cultural revolution. In the first half of this year 59.1 percent of the yearly plan had been accomplished, marking a 14.3 percent increase over the comparable period of last year. It is obvious that improved relations between leaders and the masses are directly related to the consolidation of the socialist economic base and to the consolidation and development of the socialist system of ownership, and are conducive to uniting the broad masses on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and carrying out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level.

In the course of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, in light of reality and summing up experience, we repeatedly pondered over the following question: Why is it that during the past harsh years of war, the relations between the army and the people within the revolutionary ranks and between officers and men were so close. Why is it that today when the socialist revolution has developed in depth, some cadres have become estranged from the masses? An important reason is that they have been blinded by bourgeois right. Now that they hold higher positions and draw higher salaries, they tend to be after material comforts and seek special privileges. The idea "if we haven't done anything good, we have toiled hard enough" is just a manifestation of the idea of bourgeois right. When one has this idea, one is bound to go after comfort and privilege. A real Marxist should not concern himself with pay. "All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people." When one gets a higher position and draw higher pay, one should be more modest and prudent, paying greater attention to eradicating the idea of bourgeois right, promoting the revolutionary tradition, persisting in hard struggle and in keeping close to the masses and carrying out revolutionary work to the finish. This is an attitude Communists and revolutionary cadres should take on the basis of the principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Over the past few years, we have been educating the cadres in this aspect, requiring cadres, irrespective of their positions or merit and whether they are old or new cadres, to observe the discipline and regulations of the Party and state. Cadres must take the lead in observing all rules that the masses are required to observe. The several principal responsible cadres, except for the old, sick and feeble comrades, do not go to office and back by car. Instead, they ride on bicycles and take the same path as the masses; becoming their bosom friends and receiving their warm encouragement.

As we are leading cadres and possess a certain amount of power, some people are bound to give us special treatment. This happened in our plant before. Once, the logistics department gave a portion of the white flour intended for the sick in the factory to the several principal leading cadres. What should be done in such a case? Should we accept it as a matter of course with an easy conscience, or should we set strict demands and refuse this special offer? We adopted the latter attitude. Chairman Mao says: "Who gives us our power? The working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the broad masses of the working people

constituting over 90 percent of the population." We can only hold and use power for the people, and must not use it to feather our own nests. We should make an analysis: if the masses offer special treatment to the leaders out of their real concern for them, then, we must persuade the masses to show greater concern for more comrades. If some people want to offer the leadership special treatment in exchange for personal benefits, such a practice must be firmly resisted and criticized and the people concerned educated. Even if some treatment is permitted by regulations, still it must not be taken for granted. Otherwise, we shall never break the narrow confine of bourgeois rights. Our lofty objective is to abolish all class differences, the differences between town and country, worker and peasant, mental and manual labor, and it will take several generations to accomplish. To achieve this objective, we cadres must take the lead in making a thorough break with the old traditional concepts, enduring more hardships, exercising our minds and showing more spirit of self-sacrifice. Only thus can we gain the support of the broad masses and really become servants of the people.

Since the great proletariat cultural revolution, out of a high sense of responsibility as masters, the broad masses of workers have often given us some criticism and suggestions concerning our leadership work. This gives vivid expression to the development of the new-type relationship between leaders and the masses. How to deal with such criticism and suggestions of the revolutionary masses also involves a problem of doing away with the concept of bourgeois right. In the past, some of our comrades listened to criticism from the higher-ups, but not to that by the masses. They liked praise and disliked criticism. In reality they had placed themselves above all others. Ours is a socialist country of proletarian dictatorship. The worker masses are the masters of the plant, and have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over the enterprise leadership. It is possible to move the socialist enterprise along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and develop it with greater, faster, better and more economical results only when we rely on the masses and give full play to their socialist enthusiasm. Our relations with the masses are not only relations between the leader and the led, but also relations between comrades. The masses criticize us precisely out of their concern for the revolution and comrades. Even if some opinions may hurt, they nevertheless can help us to keep sober. At one time, because we thought we were clever, we adopted the wrong attitude of suppressing mass criticism. This resulted in deviation from the right line, estrangement between cadres and the masses, and undermining the enthusiasm among a section of the masses. Through summing up lessons from experience, we asked the cadres to read and study seriously, strive to remold their world outlook, set up the mass viewpoint and improve their workstyle. When the masses advance opposing opinions, we should first listen to them, then analyze them, accept what is correct and patiently explain what is wrong. Besides, we also adopted such measures as conducting open-door rectification of workstyle and participating in labor with the workers in order to learn from the masses, listen to their opinions extensively and discuss matters with them, thus bringing cadres and the masses closer together. With ease of mind, the masses will speak to the leaders face to face. During the Spring Festival this year, some workshops increased overtime pay. The workers promptly criticized this and helped the cadres raise their line consciousness. This helped promote the development of both revolution and production.

Chairman Mao says: "Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for one another, cherish one another and help one another." As long as our leading cadres place themselves among the masses, take the masses to heart, help the masses politically and ideologically and care for them materially, it is possible to further develop the comradely relations between cadres and the masses. This requires us to enthusiastically support the socialist new things among the masses and carry out careful ideological and political work to help the masses with their shortcomings and errors out of a desire for unity. We must give constant attention to the livelihood problems of the workers, such as housing, food, cultural life, medical care, and care and education of their children, the problem of reception of family dependents coming to the plant, and all things involving the personal interests of the masses. We should energetically create the conditions for making the best possible arrangements in these respects.
As we have done some work in all these respects, a lively situation has appeared throughout the plant in which cadres are concerned about the masses, the masses cherish the cadres, cadres and the masses are united as one and forge ahead in unity.

* * *

Contribute Our Strength to Building the Countryside

by

Demobilized Armymen of Hsinshao County, Hunan,
Liu K'e-ch'ing (刘克清), Li Hsieh-chung
(李解忠), Li Tien-ch'ing (李典庆),
Li Wei-yu (李维友), Li Kuo-chien (李国坚),
and Hsiao K'un-shu (肖坤书)

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More than four months ago, in the surging tide of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship and conforming to the needs of the revolution, we returned to our home village in Hsinshao county, Hunan, on being discharged from the Eighth Company of a certain unit of the Peking PLA Command. Before we left the army, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, and came to understand that for demobilized fighters to return to the countryside is of great significance to restricting bourgeois right, reducing the three major differences, combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. At that time, together with the demobilized armymen of the whole company, we wrote an article entitled "Return to the Countryside and Continue the Revolution," which was published in Hung-ch'i, No. 4 this year. In it we expressed our determination to take root and dedicate our lives to revolution in the countryside. For the past few months, filled with lofty aspirations and pride, we have plunged into the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside. Practice has made us feel more and more deeply that we have made the right decision in returning to the countryside to make revolution.

Speed up the tempo of socialist construction in the countryside, develop agricultural production in depth and breadth, expand the socialist collective economy in the countryside and create conditions for narrowing the three major differences--this is the common aspiration of the people of the whole country. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have set forth the policy for the whole Party to go in for agriculture and called on all trades and occupations to support agriculture. It is our bounden duty, as revolutionary fighters, to respond to the call of the Party and return to the countryside to make revolution and help construct a new socialist countryside.

When we returned to our native village, laid down our packs and took part in labor, we were welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants with open arms. Joyfully they said: "Now that you've returned to our team, we have more fresh forces to develop agriculture." This encouraged us greatly. Although our personal strength is negligible, we should be able to play a useful part when we merge with the revolutionary torrents of the combat against nature in the countryside. In spring this year, excessive rain brought a host of difficulties to production in our village. The ditches of several seed beds were damaged, most of the early rice shoots grew very slowly. Working hard and skillfully with the poor and lower-middle peasants, we rebuilt the ditches with rocks. Meanwhile, learning

from the advanced experience of other areas, we produced organic chemical fertilizer of rapid and high fertility to promote the fast growth of early rice seedlings, thus laying a good foundation for production.

Chairman Mao says: "Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they will not easily give way." Some people view our action in returning to the countryside with old glasses, saying "You don't have any future." What is meant by "having a future" and "having no future"? The proletariat holds that the most promising revolutionary action is not to seek fame or profit but to serve the revolution and the people in the interest of the great cause of communism. On the other hand, the most despicable act is to chase after comfort and leisure, fame and position, to put personal interest above the interest of the revolution. Our determination to be promoters in the drive to restrict bourgeois right and reduce the three major differences and to return to the countryside to make revolution entirely conforms with the greatest interests of the vast majority of the people and is supported by them. How can it be said that we "have no future"?

To look upon taking root in the countryside to make revolution as "having no future" is, to let the cat out of the bag, to divide revolutionary work into different kinds of noble and mean work, to belittle the peasants and to despise manual labor, which is itself a manifestation of the idea of bourgeois right. Revolutionary work has many fronts, none of which is dispensable, and there is no distinction in ranking between them. Of course, at the present stage, conditions for agricultural production are inferior to those of industrial production and rural life is inferior to city life in various respects. This is exactly why we must strive hard to change the outlook of the countryside. We acknowledge the differences between workers and peasants and between cities and the countryside because we want to create the conditions to reduce and abolish them step by step, not to intensify and extend them. If we do not understand or bring up questions in this way but allow the idea of bourgeois right to dominate us, stress industry at the expense of agriculture, long for the city and despise the countryside, then, the gaps between workers and peasants and between cities and countryside will not be reduced with each passing day but will be extended continuously. And what will be the result? It can only be that the serious antagonism between workers and peasants and between cities and countryside will reappear and we will go back to the old capitalist road where industry exploits agriculture and cities rob the countryside. What a dangerous situation it would be!

Applying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we analyzed and criticized these erroneous views belittling the countryside. This resulted in our heightened consciousness of the need to take root in and build up the countryside. Not long ago, a factory wanted to employ a comrade among us. This comrade felt that it was as glorious to be a builder of socialism in the countryside as it was to be a member of the working class, so unhesitantly he said: "Working on the farm and working on the bench are both for building socialism. We returned to the countryside because we want to restrict bourgeois right and reduce the three major differences. We are resolved to dedicate our lives to combat in the countryside. I'll offer my whole life to the socialist new countryside." What he said expressed the common desire of the six of us.

For the past few months we have not only been tested in the struggle for production, but, more importantly, we have been tempered in class struggle. The class struggle in the rural areas is sharp and complicated. To develop agricultural production, we must firmly adhere to the Party's basic line, constantly raise the consciousness of cadres and the masses, criticize the spontaneous capitalist tendencies and strike at the subversive activities of a small handful of class enemies. When we were in the army, our thoughts and actions were all directed at combating subversion and sabotage by class enemies at home and abroad. After returning to the countryside, although guns have been replaced by hoes and shoulder poles, we have only shifted to another battleground. It is still our main task to fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Shortly after his return to the countryside, a comrade of ours discovered that a landlord element in his production team frequently instigated the commune members to ask for more work points and used all sorts of tactics to woo and corrupt the cadres and disrupt production. So, he made an investigation, gathered a great deal of information, and made a report to the brigade Party branch and the commune Party committee. With the full support of the Party organization, together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, he waged a relentless struggle against the class enemy and smashed the intrigues of this landlord element. The corrupted cadres were also profoundly educated.

There was a comrade whose several brothers were in the handicraft trade. In the past, influenced by the spontaneous capitalist forces, they were often absent from the team's collective production and went out to take up sideline occupations privately. When he returned to the village, he unfolded an active ideological struggle in the family and helped his brothers recognize the danger of the spontaneous capitalist tendencies. Since then, they have not gone out to do business, and sideline production in the team has also been quickly drawn into the collective orbit.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The chief reason that when we left the army we could determinedly return to the countryside is that we have deepened our understanding of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and raised our political and ideological consciousness through the movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship. From now on, in the struggle to restrict bourgeois right and reduce the three major differences, we must play a greater role and continue the revolution without a hitch. To do this, the most important thing is to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao assiduously and persistently. For the past 4 months and more, we have persevered in reading and studying. Sometimes, even though we are busy and tired, we still manage to study for one to two hours a day. Moreover, in light of the reality of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside and in light of our own thoughts, we ponder over problems and act accordingly. In compliance with Chairman Mao's directive "this should be made known to the whole nation," while studying seriously ourselves, we also assist the production team in running an evening political school. We are determined to "read more Marxist-Leninist books," persist in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the three great revolutionary struggles,

thoroughly eradicate the old traditional concepts and contribute our strength to the construction of the countryside.

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Advance Along Chairman Mao's Proletarian Army-Building Line

by

K'o Shih (柯史)

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Great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Why Lenin spoke of dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is a question which must be clarified. Lack of clarity on this question may lead to revisionism. The people of the whole country must be made to understand this." This teaching of Chairman Mao's clearly pointed out the extreme importance of studying theory, opposing and guarding against revisionism and has great guiding significance for army-building, particularly in the ideological sense.

The Chinese PLA is a proletarian army founded, led and directed by Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. Consequently, for the last forty-eight years, our army has been able to grow from small to large, from weak to strong, to overcome one difficulty after another, to defeat powerful enemies both internally and externally and to play its role as a strong pillar in the struggle to defend the Motherland and consolidate proletarian dictatorship precisely because it has had the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and a correct Marxist-Leninist line formulated for us by Chairman Mao. "The essential condition for proletarian dictatorship is a proletarian army." In order to fulfill the great cause shouldered by our army, we must deeply study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, further criticize the revisionist line of the renegade and traitor Lin Piao and do a still better job of implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line.

A proletarian army is an armed body for carrying out the party's political tasks; it must submit to the absolute leadership of the proletarian political party and must have a strong proletarian party spirit. This is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism and is the core of Chairman Mao's army-building line. The relationship between party and army can only be one of the leader and the led. Such a relationship must under no circumstances be reversed; if it is reversed, the nature of the army will change.

In the course of founding our army, Chairman Mao unswervingly placed the army under the absolute leadership of the Party. After the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Chairman Mao led the units which had participated in the uprising to regroup at Sanwan, established Party branches in the companies and put the Party representative system into effect; later, he established Party committees at battalion and higher levels, thereby determining the Party's absolute leadership over the army. At the Kut'ien meeting, Chairman Mao criticized such erroneous tendencies as "military affairs and politics are opposed to each other," "military affairs lead politics" and so on, thus further strengthening the Party's absolute leadership over the army ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Whether the Party commands the gun or the gun commands the Party is the focal point of two-line struggle on the question of army-building. "Our principle is that the Party commands the gun and the gun must not be allowed to command the Party." The chieftains of the opportunist line have always opposed the principle of the Party commanding the gun. Chang Kuo-t'ao contended with the Party for individual military power, split the Red Army, endangered the Central Committee and tried to command the Party with the gun. Kao Kang advocated the "Party growing out of the army theory," incited the army against the Party and tried to place the army above the Party's leadership. Lin Piao advertised the "theory of the army as the center" and tried to usurp the Party's military power. He clamored that the army was the "center of the center and the key of the key" and he vainly dreamed that if only he held the army in his hands he could "skillfully cope with the Party, the government and the people." From the word "cope" we may perceive Lin Piao's wolfish design; he wanted to place the army above the Party, the government and the people and to use the gun to command the Party, control political power, suppress the people and transform the proletarian nature of our army so as to realize his criminal design for restoring capitalism. This teaching by negative example has enabled us to still more profoundly understand the importance of implementing the principle "the Party commands the gun" as set forth by Chairman Mao. In order to preserve the proletarian nature of our army and consolidate proletarian dictatorship, the army must always be placed under the leadership of the Party and the barrel of the gun must always be held in the hands of the Party and the people; it absolutely must not be allowed to become the instrument of individual ambitionists.

The most fundamental Party leadership is leadership of its line. "Whether or not the line is ideologically and politically correct determines everything." If the line is correct you may acquire soldiers and guns where you do not have them; if the line is not correct, you may lose what you already have. Chairman Mao's leadership of our army has given concentrated expression to the Party's correct leadership in line. If we are to implement the principle of the Party's absolute leadership over the army, then we must all abide by the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee; this is the concentrated embodiment of proletarian party spirit and the basic guarantee for insuring that our army proceeds from one victory to another. The chieftains of opportunist lines have always tried to bar Chairman Mao's leadership over our army in order to push through their erroneous lines. Wang Ming pushed a "Left" opportunist line and took away Chairman Mao's power to command the Central Red Army, which caused the revolution to suffer a serious setback. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique vainly tried to usurp Chairman Mao's command position, arrogantly pointing out that Lin Piao had to "command all and manipulate all" in the PLA. This was sheer wishful thinking. The great PLA resolutely carries out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Lin Piao and his gang were extremely isolated within the Party and army and did not find it so easy to "command" and "manipulate" the army to do bad things. Just as with all chieftains of opportunist lines in the past who unsuccessfully tried to undermine the absolute leadership of the Party over the army, Lin Piao had to make his disreputable and disgraceful exit from the stage.

In the PLA, Party committees at various levels and basic-level Party branches exercise Party leadership over the army. The system of commanding officers assuming responsibility for a division of labor under the unified collective leadership of the Party committee is the basic system for exercising Party leadership over the army. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The Party committee system is an important system for guaranteeing collective leadership and for guarding against monopoly of the party by individuals." The two aspects of collective leadership and individual responsibility should not be emphasized one at the expense of the other, but should rather be well integrated. Collective leadership can promote collective wisdom so as to implement the Party's line, principles and policies still better; division of labor and responsibilities can foster subjective initiative by the individual under collective leadership so as to still better fulfill the Party's various specific tasks. These two things are a dialectical unity. P'eng Te-huai wanted to promote the "one chief system," Lin Piao clamored that "the system of individual responsibility must take prominence," both of which were meant to place the individual above the Party committee and undermine the collective leadership of the Party committee. "The Party branch is established on the basis of the company" is the organizational guarantee for exercising Party leadership over the basic units. The building of Party branches must take the Party's basic line as the key. Lin Piao advocated the need to take the "four goods as the key" to build companies, to weaken, even to the point of doing away with, the role of the Party branch as a fighting citadel in an attempt to lead company-building down an evil road. This must be deeply criticized.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Of the seven sectors--industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party--it is the Party that exercises overall leadership." To consciously defend the centralized leadership of the Party, to strengthen the proletarian Party spirit and to oppose going in for such erroneous tendencies as mountain-topism and sectarianism is the fine tradition of our army and must be fostered further. Owing to the influence exerted by the revisionist line, a small minority of people tainted by bourgeois factionalism make no mention of proletarian Party spirit, ignore the overall situation and do not discuss unity; all of this is prejudicial to implementing the Party's line and consolidating proletarian dictatorship. Our army requires a high level of centralization and unity and can by no means permit the existence of bourgeois factionalism. By studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship we must carry out education in ideology and political line, fully understand and earnestly overcome the reactionary nature and danger of bourgeois factionalism.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the soul of our army and to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line we must persist in educating the armed forces in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

In the early period of our army's founding, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The question of proletarian ideological leadership is an extremely important one." During the protracted revolutionary war period Chairman Mao had consistently stressed educating the armed forces with the idea of combining the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete experience

of the Chinese revolution. The rectification movement during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the new-type consolidation of the army during the period of the War of Liberation were both general Marxist educational movements which took Chinese revolutionary experience as their point of departure. In the last several years, Chairman Mao has repeatedly urged that we "must teach the cadres to understand a little Marxism-Leninism, the more the better. That is to say, they must practice Marxism-Leninism and not revisionism." That our army has been able all along to preserve its true color as a people's army and maintain the splendid military and political qualities, is wholly the result of its being nourished by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

When it comes to doing military work well, our grasp of Marxist theory is very important. "The naked eye is not enough; we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. The Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military matters." If, in acute and complex class and line struggles, we are to firmly maintain the correct political orientation, then we must use the Marxist method to analyze the political situation and assess class forces, and we must neither overestimate nor underestimate the enemy or ourselves, but slight the enemy strategically while taking full account of him tactically. Only in this way can we correctly understand and consciously carry out the line, principles and policies of the Party and flexibly implement strategy and tactics without committing Right or "Left" errors. In the course of practical struggle, we still often run up against a great many questions concerning the relationship between spirit and substance, man and weapon, military and politics, democracy and centralization, the individual and the collective and so forth. To correctly understand and handle these questions well, we must also apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and do analysis and research. Theory is the compass for action; only when the theory is clarified can our actions have the correct orientation and can we consciously resist various erroneous tendencies.

To persist in taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guiding thought of our army, what is still more important is that we must insure that the nature of our army never changes. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said, 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of Party members." Our army is a proletarian army and its internal composition is comparatively good. However, our army does not exist in a vacuum, but in a complex social environment. The class struggle in society and bourgeois erosion is necessarily reflected in various ways in our units. The commodity system, exchange through money and the existence of bourgeois rights may also influence the thinking of our cadres and fighters. Originally, our country was one with a great many small producers and at present the small producer mentality and force of habit still exists to a serious extent; this, too, is necessarily reflected in our ranks. The existence of all these things provides the conditions and the soil for generating the bourgeois life style and revisionism. In order to safeguard the proletarian character of our army, we must strengthen education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, strengthen the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, ceaselessly carry out struggle to oppose and

guard against revisionism, consciously resist the erosion of bourgeois thought and work style and make the most thorough rupture with the old, traditional attitudes.

In order to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, Lin Piao pushed a revisionist line, restored capitalism and was recklessly opposed to taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to be the theoretical foundation of the guiding thought of our army. At the same time, Lin Piao and his gang frenziedly peddled their revisionist black goods, wanted our army to read the works of Lin Piao and study Lin Li-kuo's report, and vainly tried to substitute revisionist and Confucian-Mencian doctrines which they advocated for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. By their negative example they have taught us that we must follow the teachings of Chairman Mao, "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism," persist in using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to guide our thoughts and actions, strengthen the transformation of our world outlook and ceaselessly raise our own consciousness of class struggle, line struggle and continuing the revolution. Otherwise, we may not be able to discern such swindlers as Lin Piao or distinguish materialism from idealism and the correct line from the erroneous line and hence could be deceived.

The Chinese PLA is made up of the children of the workers and peasants. "The sole purpose of this army is to stand side by side with the Chinese people and to serve the people wholeheartedly." This is the basic hallmark which distinguishes our army from all other armies of the exploiting classes and is the starting point for the proletarian army-building line of Chairman Mao.

During the protracted period of revolutionary struggle, the broad masses of cadres and fighters in our army have worked hard to study this army-building directive of Chairman Mao's, have ceaselessly overcome various kinds of non-proletarian thoughts,all along preserving the lofty quality of being wholeheartedly devoted to serving the people and not to the pursuit of fame or gain; a great many communist fighters have emerged who work exclusively to benefit the people without thought of self, like Chang Sze-te and Lei Feng. They have all along preserved the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, of heroic tenacity and persistence. A great many heroic personages such as Tung Ts'un-jui and Huang Chi-kuang emerged who boldly overcame the enemy without yielding to him. They have all along preserved the fine, untainted work style of struggling hard amid difficulties, remaining modest and prudent and resisting corruption. Advanced units like the "Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road" have emerged who have lived in the bustling cities without being contaminated by a single speck of dust. They all fully embody the purpose of our army and have produced a very good influence on the masses. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique loudly clamored for the thought of fame and gain and the philosophy of survival and advocated "safeguarding official rank, property and life." It wooed cadres and fostered diehard partners by "inducing them with high rank, feeding them with large salaries and vesting great authority in them" in a desperate effort to undermine the purpose of our army. Now, the bourgeois headquarters headed by Lin Piao has been smashed, but its poison still remains. We must further eliminate this poison by linking practice with the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship to enable the broad masses of cadres and fighters to consciously

transform their world outlook, preserve and foster our army's fine traditions and carry the struggle against corruption through to the end.

In the historical stage of socialist society, bourgeois rights still exist. Whether to restrict or expand them is an important question bearing on whether or not it is possible to fulfill the purpose of building an army that is wholeheartedly devoted to serving the people, and it is also an important aspect of the two-line struggle in army-building. The all-out expansion of bourgeois rights by the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique was precisely the major means by which they transformed the nature of the Soviet Red Army founded by Lenin and made it an instrument for restoring capitalism. Similarly, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique vainly tried to use high public office, emoluments, special privileges and the bourgeois life style to sap the fighting will of our army and alter the army-building objectives of our army. These shocking lessons ought to put us on guard.

According to the positive and negative aspects of experience with proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad, Chairman Mao has taken the restriction of bourgeois rights as an important aspect of opposing and guarding against revisionism and has already adopted a series of important measures. For example: abolition of ranks in the army, the reduction of salaries, sending cadres down to the companies to serve as soldiers, rotating positions, outdoor camping and training and so forth; these are of very great significance in preserving the proletarian nature of our army. In his "May 7 Directive," Chairman Mao urged that apart from fighting battles, our army must also "study politics, military affairs, and culture," "engage in agricultural and subsidiary production," "run some small and medium-size factories," "engage in mass work," and "at all times take part in the struggle of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie." The "May 7 Directive" sums up the whole content of our army-building in the socialist period, is an important measure for restricting bourgeois rights, reducing the three major differences and opposing and guarding against revisionism, and is also an important guarantee for persisting in our army's objectives. We must further sum up experience and continue to take the "May 7" road so that the broad masses of cadres and fighters will persist in taking part in collective productive labor, consciously transform their world outlook, foster the glorious tradition of sharing joy and sorrow with the masses and be promoters in doing away with the idea of bourgeois rights and further reducing the three major differences.

The Chinese PLA is not only an army which fights but also one which works and produces. These three major tasks embody the proletarian nature of our army, which is an important hallmark distinguishing our army from all other exploiting-class armies. If we are to advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line, then we must do a still better job of carrying out these three tasks.

Our army will always be a fighting army. Chairman Mao has admonished the whole army: "On this point there can be no misunderstanding or vacillation." At present, the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are fiercely contending for world hegemony, the Soviet revisionists are expanding in every direction and a new world war is bound to break out one day. The classes that have already been overthrown within the country and the newly engendered bourgeois elements, once given the

opportunity, will want to turn their hopes for restoration into acts of restoration. We must raise our vigilance, strengthen our preparations against war, run the militia well and at all times be prepared to annihilate those enemies who dare to invade and to smash the restoration plots of class enemies. For this, our army must undergo strict training, make strict demands on itself, ceaselessly raise the level of its political consciousness, its organizational and command capability and its tactical techniques. When Lin Piao presided over the day-to-day work of the Military Commission, he tried his utmost to undermine our army's military-political training. He either promoted formalism by attacking proletarian politics with bourgeois military affairs or promoted liquidationism by attacking proletarian military affairs with bourgeois politics. These activities by Lin Piao were sharply criticized by Chairman Mao and time and again boycotted by the commanders and fighters of our army. In recent years, in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives, we have continuously unfolded mass military training movements where officers teach men, men teach officers and men teach one another, run instruction teams and provide junior cadres with indoctrination, help and guidance. The army units leave their barracks to carry out long-distance camping and training. The units seriously study Chairman Mao's military works and military-political training has registered pleasing gains.

The Chinese PLA "is not merely a fighting army"; while shouldering its combat task it also assumes responsibility as a working and production team. This is the glorious tradition of our army. In the various periods of revolutionary war, our army followed the directives of Chairman Mao and wherever it went it organized, armed and did propaganda work among the masses; wherever it was stationed it opened up wasteland for production and engaged in the task of helping the people work. In this way, they both cemented relationships between the army and the people and tempered the army units; they overcame economic difficulties and furthered the development of the revolutionary cause. Although at present conditions have changed, these glorious traditions must definitely not be lost. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, our army served as a work team, persistently adhered to Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," shouldered the glorious task of supporting industry, supporting agriculture, supporting the broad masses of the Left, carried out military control and military-political training, won new merit for the people and made it possible for the units themselves to receive new tempering and improvement. Lin Piao consistently opposed the carrying out of the three major tasks by the army. Apart from undermining the tasks of the combat units, he opposed doing mass work during wartime; during the great proletarian cultural revolution, he did his utmost to sabotage the three supports and the two militaries. He opposed the army taking part in helping people work and in socialist construction and maliciously attacked the "May 7" road. Lin Piao's criminal objective was precisely to lead our army down the evil road which divorced it from labor and the masses. The broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army resolutely boycotted Lin Piao's sabotage activities and resolutely carried out the three major tasks; this was a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line.

Unity is the basic guarantee for the victory of our cause. To strengthen the internal and external unity of our army is an important aspect of Chairman Mao's army-building line and is the important content of our army's political work.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: the PLA "has achieved remarkable unity within the ranks and with those outside the ranks. Internally, there is unity between officers and men, between the higher and lower levels, and between military, political and rear service work; and externally, there is unity between the army and the people, between the army and the government, and between our army and the friendly armies." And he emphatically added that "it is imperative to overcome anything that impairs this unity."

The internal unity of our army is founded on a basic unanimity of class interest, founded on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The broad masses of cadres and fighters are all close comrades-in-arms and class brothers, on equal terms politically and represent a new type of comradely relationship. This revolutionary unity is a priceless treasure, unique to a proletarian army. In order to continually strengthen this internal unity, our army holds fast to a democratic system within its ranks, carry out political democracy, economic democracy and military democracy under the guidance of centralization; it persistently opposes warlordism and ultra-democracy and launches movements to honor cadres and love the people; it implements a cadre line of "appointing people solely on merit," opposes sectarianism and mountain-topism; it correctly handles contradictions among the people and adopts the policy of "unity--criticism--unity" in dealing with errant comrades; it resolutely obeys orders, listens to commands and consciously follows revolutionary discipline. Precisely because of this, the cadres and fighters in this big revolutionary family of our army show concern for one another, care for and help one another, and unite closely to fight shoulder to shoulder, giving expression to the fact that our army is a brand new collective fighting in unity.

Chairman Mao has often taught us: "the army must merge as one with the masses." If the army receives the approval and support of the broad masses of the people, then no enemy can overthrow us and can only be overthrown by us. Chairman Mao has laid down for our army such army-building principles as that of "unity of army and people and unity of army and government," formulated the "Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention," and directed that movements to "support the government and love the people" be launched regularly. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our army has everywhere shown concern for the people, and paid attention to the interests of the people; the masses of the people regard our army as their own and do their utmost to support the army. During the war years, the army and the people shared joy and sorrow, troubles and hardship; the army loved the people, the people supported the army and they made a concerted effort against the enemy. This kind of unity terrified the enemy. We must continue to foster this glorious tradition. Chairman Mao urged "the PLA to learn from the people of the whole country"; we must seriously do this. In order to carry out the socialist revolution well and accelerate socialist construction, the people of the whole country have persisted in the basic line of the Party on the various fronts, practiced self-reliance, worked hard to overcome difficulties and have won one victory after another. We must modestly learn from

the people throughout the country, absorb political nourishment from the masses, be modest and prudent and guard against conceit and impatience, so our army will always preserve its proletarian nature and its true color as an army of the people.

Implementing the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention is an important guarantee for enabling our army to realize a high degree of unity and solidarity and for preserving its blood-and-flesh relationship with the masses of people. Chairman Mao points out: We must "use the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention to educate the fighters, the cadres, the masses, the Party members and the people." We must emphasize that the individual submits to the organization, the minority submits to the majority, the lower level submits to the upper level and the whole Party submits to the Central Committee. We must follow the system of seeking instructions from and reporting to the higher-ups. With respect to implementing the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention, the army ought to set the example and place strict demands on itself.

The revolutionary unity of our army, both internally and externally, is the source of our strength for overcoming the enemy. All revolutionary comrades ought to cherish this unity. Class enemies are bound to want to split our army by undermining this unity in every way possible. In order to overthrow proletarian dictatorship, Lin Piao promoted a revisionist organizational line and vainly attempted to split our army; we should strengthen our revolutionary unity by learning from this negative example.

For 48 years our army has taken a glorious road under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line has penetrated deeply into the hearts of our troops and has all along occupied the dominant position. Although "Left" and Right opportunists have carried out interference and sabotage many times, it is easy to shake the mountain but hard to shake the Liberation Army. All attempts by ambitionists and conspirators to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line and alter the nature of our army can only be wasted efforts. However, we must always realize that during the whole of the historical stage of socialism, classes and class struggle still exist and the struggle between the two lines and the two army-building lines within the Party will still be a protracted one. To fully understand and appraise this will help us strengthen the struggle to oppose and guard against revisionism and strive to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship.

At present, the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship is unfolding in depth among the army units. This study will enable us to further understand the historical tasks of proletarian dictatorship in theory and in practice. We must seriously study Chairman Mao's directives on theoretical questions, study the theory of proletarian dictatorship well, seriously sum up our army's experience in the two-line

struggle and thoroughly eliminate the poisonous influence of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line. In our study we must bear in mind the actual situation in the units, strengthen investigation and research, effectively resolve existing problems, and do all aspects of our work well. This will greatly enhance the revolutionizing and modernizing of our army and will enable it to advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian army-building line in a still better way.

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Effective Measures To Cement the Relationship Between Officers and Men

by

the Party Committee of a certain division of
the Aeronautical Corps of the Chinese
PLA Air Force

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

During the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions on army cadres going down to companies to serve as privates, we organized a number of leading cadres of the division and regiments to go to companies and basic-level units to serve as privates. We came to understand that this is an important measure for restricting bourgeois rights in respect to the mutual relations among people within the army. It plays a vital role in fostering our army's glorious tradition of unity between officers and men, preserving our army's political color, and strengthening our army's building in the revolutionary way.

During the long period of revolutionary struggle, Chairman Mao has laid down a series of correct principles for the proper handling of relations within our army. In the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, "officers do not beat up men. Officers and men are treated on an equal basis. Men have the freedom to speak at meetings. Trivial formalities are done away with. Spending by the army is made public." "Everyone from the army commander down to the cook are to have five fen of food, except grain." Such democracy within the army, such equal relations among comrades, is the hallmark distinguishing our army from a mercenary army. Later, Chairman Mao set the principle of "unity between officers and men" as one of the basic principles underlying the political work of our army, repeatedly emphasized that "officers must cherish men," launched "support the cadres and cherish the soldiers" activities, and enforced the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention. In the socialist revolution period, our army inherited and promoted these glorious traditions. In order to adjust the mutual relations among people within the armed forces, Chairman Mao called on the cadres to go to companies and serve as privates. The broad masses of cadres actively responded to Chairman Mao's great call, which brought about a revolutionary atmosphere full of vitality in the construction of the armed forces. But bourgeois representatives who wormed their way into the Party and army energetically tried to extend bourgeois rights and enlarge the differences between grades, and opposed the measures and principles formulated by Chairman Mao. P'eng Te-huai pushed the "one chief system" and brought a set of rigid ranking systems characteristic of the bourgeoisie and revisionism into the revolutionary ranks in an attempt to bring the people's army under his domination. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao energetically peddled such stuff as "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid," opposed unity between officers and men, opposed democracy within the army, and tried to split the revolutionary ranks in order to attain his criminal aim of usurping Party and state leadership. To persist in Chairman Mao's army-building line, we must properly handle

the mutual relations among men within the army, enforce the revolutionary principle of unity between officers and men, and continuously break down the idea of bourgeois rights. To persist in the system of cadres going to companies to serve as privates, to promote our army's glorious tradition of unity between officers and men and to strengthen such unity is a struggle to preserve the proletarian character of the people's army and a forceful criticism of the bourgeois military line.

By sending cadres to companies to serve as privates and breaking the traditional concept which makes social division of labor absolute, we have criticized the idea of bourgeois rights and brought the cadres and fighters closer together. In the first place, cadres and fighters are not distinguished by rank. Despite division of work which makes some commanding officers and others combatants, all are equal politically. Most of the leading cadres in our army come from the rank and file, and have fought in battles; they have a relatively deep understanding of the close links between the cadres and fighters of our army. But in times of peace, owing to the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, some comrades slowly separated themselves from the masses and assumed the airs of "officials," and their feeling of affection toward their comrades-in-arms was diluted. When cadres recently went down to serve as privates, some fighters at first felt that with a commanding officer among them, they had to act with caution, talk and laugh with restraint, and speak to their superior in a respectful manner. This just goes to show that there is still a distance between cadres and fighters. After cadres go down, they eat, live and work with the fighters, vying for errands and sentry duties. When they go out from the company, they ask for leave, and report for duty when they return. They obey orders in all their actions. When a fighter falls ill, they look after him. With an open mind they learn from the strong points of the fighters. This way the cadres and fighters have strengthened their comradeship. Some comrades said: "Serving as a private for one month cuts away the ideas of becoming officials." A deputy chief of staff of our division is an old comrade who saw action in the War of Liberation. After the liberation, he studied flying and took a leadership post. For more than twenty years he had never lived the life of a fighter in the company. Recently when he went to a company and served as an ordinary soldier, he was made to recall the old fighting days when the cadres and fighters were closely united. Like a newly enlisted serviceman, he put on a uniform and joined the fighters in cleaning and oiling the cannon, cleaning the toilets and doing filthy and heavy jobs. After a while, the fighters began to address him in a different way, and confided to him as well. After he returned to his office, the fighters still called on him for chats. After going to companies to serve as privates, many cadres have established a proletarian friendship with the fighters. Practice proves that for cadres to serve as privates in companies helps them to keep the features of an ordinary soldier and promote our army's fine tradition of unity between officers and men.

For cadres to go to companies to live the life of a fighter and to look at the fighters' lofty revolutionary spirit will help raise their consciousness of restricting bourgeois rights, promote the style of arduous struggle and hard work, and increase their ability to resist corrosion by

bourgeois ideology. When a deputy divisional commander went to work in a firing ground in a remote area, he found the work very strenuous and life relatively hard. Comparing himself with the fighters who display the revolutionary spirit of gladly accepting hardships and arduous struggle in building and defending socialism and recalling his own experiences in the war years, he found that he had been influenced by the idea of bourgeois rights. He recognized relatively deeply his past practice of showing off and red tape. While serving as a private, he seriously learned from the fighters the spirit of hard work and enduring hardship. He joined the fighters in watering the melons grown in the field. When asked to take a rest, he said: "I mustn't rest or I'll forget my origin. My sweat can help me combat and prevent revisionism." After he returned to his office, he set strict demands on himself and kept up the style of arduous struggle and plain living. The fighters said joyously: "From the deeds of the cadres we have seen the revolutionary vigor of the war period. So long as we keep up this vigor, we won't turn revisionist."

For cadres to serve as privates in companies is also conducive to overcoming bureaucracy. In the past, some comrades used to sit in the office drawing up projects and plans and issuing documents, and they looked rather impressive. By working for a while as ordinary soldiers, they will discover that some of the things they do are divorced from reality. Sometimes, work is done improperly not because of lack of effort below but because of the bureaucratic practice of the leadership. In the past, the chief of staff of a regiment used to ignore the opinions of the mechanical crews on flight plans. When he served as a private among the mechanics, he discovered that the plan he devised did not take into sufficient account the practical situation, which gave rise to many contradictions. Later, when drawing up flight plans, he and his staff members would take the practical situation into consideration and work out rational arrangements. Those cadres who have served as privates in companies have generally recognized that the leading cadres can have a common language with the masses, correctly handle the masses' opinions, and effectively improve the style of leadership only when they serve as ordinary soldiers for a while.

When leading cadres go to companies, the basic-level cadres and fighters, out of their respect and care for the leadership, often provide them with good living quarters and special food, assign them light jobs, invite them to speak at meetings, and seek their instructions when something happens. If the leading cadres regard all this with equanimity as before, they cannot get tempered even if they serve as privates. When our comrades go to serve as privates in companies, they all take care to adjust their attitude and put down the airs. In manual labor they choose the strenuous jobs. They are among the first to ask for assignments. During political study sessions, they take the lead to speak. And they observe all the rules of discipline to the letter. This is why they have gained definite results in breaking the rank concept, restricting bourgeois rights, and bringing officers and men closer together. When the director of the divisional political section went to serve as a private in the repair plant, he merged with the cadres and fighters there, and everyone liked to chat with him. Not long ago, he went to the repair plant again to help establish a Party branch. As he had gained the affection of the fighters during the period he served as a private, everybody was willing to talk to

him about the situation. This enabled him to grasp and solve the problems rather satisfactorily and take the initiative in work. When cadres go to companies to serve as privates, they also have the task of indoctrinating, helping and guiding the fighters. But the best way to do so is to set oneself as an example in theory study, political work, arduous struggle and in observing discipline. Generally, practical exemplary action can play a greater role in mass propaganda and education. On the other hand, if one lacks the attitude of learning from the masses and becomes bombastic, even if one goes to serve as a "private," one cannot strengthen the ties between officers and men nor remold one's world outlook.

Socialist society represents a fairly long historical period in which classes and class struggle exist for a long time, and bourgeois rights in the mutual relations among people cannot be wiped out in a short time. Nor is it possible to rid the minds of cadres of the gradation concept and the idea of bourgeois rights by serving as privates for a month. The cadres may make some progress in overcoming the idea of bourgeois rights through tempering themselves as privates, but after the lapse of some time, they may start to revert. The mutual relations among people, including the relations between officers and men, must be adjusted constantly. We must firmly carry out the effective measure of sending cadres to companies to serve as privates, continuously combat the idea of bourgeois rights, promote the glorious traditions, bring officers and men closer together, and advance along Chairman Mao's army-building line without a hitch.

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Consciously and Constantly Learn from the Masses of the People

by

the Party Branch of Warship "Loyang" under a certain unit of Chinese PLA Navy

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"The Liberation Army should learn from the people of the whole nation"--this is an important part of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building, a vivid embodiment of the essence of our people's army. Since its founding, our army, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and nurtured by the masses of the people, has turned from being weak to strong, and has been continuously developing and expanding. The steady progress of our warship along the revolutionary course is also inseparable from the fact that it has constantly absorbed political nutrition from the masses of the people.

Ours is a glorious warship that has been inspected by Chairman Mao. In 1953, when Chairman Mao visited it, he wrote with his own hand the following brilliant inscription for it: "In order to oppose imperialist aggression, we must build a powerful navy." Over the past twenty years and more, this inscription has been a great motive force driving us to build a strong force. We deeply feel that in order to achieve the target set by Chairman Mao and build a powerful navy, one thing we must do persistently over a long time is to learn from the masses of the people. Whenever we pay attention to learning from the masses of people, there will be vigorous efforts to build up the armed forces. For this reason, we take this as a regular political task.

Early last year, after reading press reports about the advanced experience of some units in building workers theoretical contingents, we realized that this was a creation of the masses in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, so we immediately organized the cadres and fighters to take up serious study and set up a spare-time theory study group aboard the warship. Later on, we visited Shanghai No. 5 Steel Mill and other units to learn from them. This enabled our theoretical contingent to develop and improve itself continuously. Learning from the revolutionary spirit of the working class in reading and studying seriously and criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius deeply, the comrades of our spare-time theoretical group assiduously studied the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, produced notes on their reading comprising over a million characters, and gave the cadres and fighters more than 30 theoretical lectures, propelling study aboard the warship and deepening revolutionary mass criticism. Also, drawing on the experience of Hsinching brigade, Chiating county, in mapping out an agricultural development plan and on the basis of our warship's practical conditions, we drew up a study plan for organizing cadres and fighters to systematically study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works in order to master the basic theories of Marxism. In the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius,

we also learned from the experience of Hsiaochinchuang and set up and developed aboard the ship a cultural performing and singing group, a library, a book critics group, and a sports group. We held poetry-reading contests and story-telling meetings and ran an evening political school. In this way, we further occupied the ideological and cultural position with proletarian ideology as well as criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism. By constantly learning from the localities and the masses of people, the work of the armed force has continued to advance.

To persist in learning from the masses of people is an important link in combating and preventing revisionism and preserving the proletarian features of our army. A few years ago, we arrived at a big city from an island. Both the environment and living conditions changed. But because we persisted in learning from the masses of people, the cadres and fighters still preserved the political features of hard work and arduous struggle. There was a fighter aboard our warship who, when he first enlisted, brought with him the fine quality of hard work and simple living of the poor and lower-middle peasants. He still put on a pair of socks though it had been mended many times. Later, his thinking changed somewhat. He felt that wearing a pair of old socks didn't fit in a big city and that he had better put on a pair of nylon socks. Once, he went back home for a visit when his parents and the poor and lower-middle peasants in the village sounded the alarm for him, exhorting him again and again: "While living in a big city, you mustn't put on the 'airs' of the bourgeoisie and drop the 'rustic style' of us poor and lower-middle peasants!" This gave him a profound lesson. After returning to the warship, he read and studied avidly, striving to remold his thought and promoting the fine style of hard work and arduous struggle. He kept on wearing the pair of socks with 13 patches. He said: "I can stand firm with this pair of socks. No fragrant wind or stuffy air can subdue me." Enlightened by the case of this fighter, we recognized that although cadres and fighters came from among the working people, yet under changed circumstances, if they didn't persist in learning from the masses, there was the danger of their losing a great deal of good thoughts and styles and degenerating. For this reason, we often organized cadres and fighters to go back to the "melting pot" among the masses of people. We visited class education exhibitions and invited old poor peasants and old workers to tell us about the histories of their villages, families and factories and about their deeds of hard work and arduous struggle, thereby constantly absorbing political nutrition from the masses. Their good thoughts and qualities are our "antibiotics" against corruption and degeneration. To consciously and constantly learn from the masses helps us reject the corrosive bourgeois ideology and preserve and develop the political features of the people's army.

The process of learning from the masses of people is one of giving the armed forces a lively education in ideology and political line. The basic thrust of ideological and political work in our unit is to grasp class and line education. What happens in the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in factories and the countryside provides vivid teaching material for the unit in conducting class and line education. The old workers and old poor peasants who follow the socialist road unswervingly are our good teachers. We frequently invite the workers and peasants in our garrison area to give lectures to our cadres and fighters. Meanwhile, we have also gone out to carry out social investigations in

order to find out about the past and present conditions of class and line struggles. This year, the moment study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat began, we organized cadres and fighters to go to Shanghai Vegetable Company and other units to conduct a survey with the object of finding out the manifestations of bourgeois rights in the matter of exchange through money. That is why the comrades say: Society is a big school with many teachers and extensive teaching material and we can learn what we cannot learn aboard the warship. Practice makes us understand that in the great school of the people's struggle, by making wide contacts with the masses we can feel for ourselves their high political consciousness and we can learn concretely and profoundly.

Learning from the people is also a concrete expression of loving and serving the people and cementing the unity between the army and the people. Wherever we go, we always urge the cadres and fighters to mix with the local people there, to strictly observe the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention, show concern for their urgent needs, help them where they need help, and learn from their good points. The cadres and fighters often help the people in labor and take the initiative to do good deeds for them. This way, the masses of people are more earnest in helping, educating, and caring for us, thereby achieving unity between the army and people as members of the same family.

From practice we came to understand that in order to go on learning from the masses, the important thing is to continue to raise the initiative of study. In the past, some comrades aboard the warship used to think that since they came from among the workers and peasants and some had just left factories or the countryside, it really didn't matter whether they learned from the masses or not. Hence, they often stressed doing propaganda among the masses and overlooked the need to learn from them. In view of this, during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we mobilized the cadres and fighters on a number of occasions to criticize the idealist conception of history advocated by Lin Piao and his reactionary fallacies slandering the masses of people. This enabled everyone to set up the historical-materialist concept that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." During the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we, taking into account the manifestations of the idea of bourgeois rights on the question of army-people relations, have deeply criticized Lin Piao's crimes in placing the army above the Party and the people, destroying army-people unity and undermining our army's fine styles such as modesty and prudence. In normal political work, we frequently organize one and all to study Chairman Mao's relevant teachings and carry out education on the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention as well as education on a comparison between two classes and two kinds of armies. Through study and criticism, everyone has come to recognize that whether the army learns modestly from the masses and forms close ties with them or places itself above the masses and keeps aloof from them is a question of what kind of line to follow and what kind of army to be built. Actively unfolding activities of learning from the masses is an important aspect of adhering to Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building and preserving the character of the proletarian army. All cadres and fighters should modestly learn from the masses, and those who left factories or the countryside not long ago are no exception. In order to raise everyone's initiative,

we often hold forums for comrades to discuss their results of learning from the masses. When some comrades achieved tangible results in learning from the masses, we would organize them to speak of their experiences. In the evening political school or making use of blackboard bulletins, we give publicity to good examples and experience in this area. Through these activities, we succeeded in arousing everyone's enthusiasm in learning from the masses of people.

We can maintain learning from the masses and achieve practical results only when we link up such learning with stepped-up building of the armed forces and the fulfillment of various combat tasks. Shipbuilders in Shanghai have scored prominent results in developing the shipbuilding industry by developing the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle. When our warship entered dock for repair, we availed ourselves of the opportunity to invite the worker masters to tell us about revolution and construction in the shipbuilding industry and give the cadres and fighters education on classes and line. Learning from the workers' revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle, we actively plunged into the work of repairing the warship. Together with the workers, we finished the job ahead of time. In addition, we organized everyone to learn from the heroic deeds of Tachai brigade and the people of Hsiyang county in going all out to build socialism, while looking for our shortcomings and stepping up our effort to build up our unit in the revolutionary way and to fulfill the various tasks with better results.

Our warship spends most of its time carrying out duties on the sea and has relatively few opportunities to get in touch with the masses of people. In view of this, apart from setting up study points and adopting the method of going out or inviting people to come to us, we mainly grasp various opportune moments to learn from the masses wherever and whenever we can and do so with real earnestness. We regularly organize everyone to seriously study press reports about advanced models and experience among the masses of the people. This is good teaching material delivered to our door every day. As to comrades who join the worker-peasant-soldier lecture groups, we ask them to modestly learn from the worker and poor-and-lower-middle-peasant lecturers and revolutionary teachers and students. When carrying out duties of escorting fishing vessels, we make use of the opportunity of helping fishermen repair machines, giving treatment to the sick and delivering fresh water to them to learn from their revolutionary spirit of braving storms and waves and fearing neither hardship nor death to catch more fish to support socialist construction. Each year, our warship is visited by large numbers of workers, peasants, and revolutionary teachers and students and we take full advantage of this opportunity to learn from the strong proletarian feelings the masses of people have toward the great leader Chairman Mao. Many comrades also make use the opportunity of going out to work or visiting their families to learn from the masses of people. Some fighters, when they go home to visit their relatives, join the poor and lower-middle peasants in doing collective productive labor as well as conducting an investigation on how the educated youths from cities have taken root in the mountainous and rural areas. Besides getting to know about the excellent situation in the educational revolution in schools,they also join in the study organized by the theoretical groups of production brigades. On returning to the unit, they will give the other

comrades an account of what they have found in the countryside and the results of their study. This is great education to everybody else.

"The Liberation Army should learn from the people of the whole country"--this is a long-term important task. Although we have achieved something in learning from the masses, we still have a long way to go before meeting the demand of the Party. From now on, we are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings, more consciously and more frequently learn from the masses, promote the construction of our unit, and strive hard to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and safeguard the socialist motherland.

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Maintain a High Revolutionary Fighting Spirit

by

Chin Chih-po (靳志柏)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

During the years of the long revolutionary war, many comrades went through severe ordeals. Today, whether we can keep the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit as displayed in the past revolutionary war period as well as persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is yet another severe test for each and every Communist and revolutionary cadre.

Through the great proletariat cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, great numbers of Communist Party members and cadres have considerably raised their consciousness of class and line struggles. Many comrades are working conscientiously and earnestly at their posts; they are honest and faithful to their duties, wholeheartedly serving the revolution and the people and always maintaining a high revolutionary spirit. This gives full expression to the features of a proletarian revolutionary.

In our ranks, however, there are also a handful of comrades whose revolutionary will has waned as they evince no desire for progress. For instance, they fool around all day long doing nothing, run after personal fame and wealth, seek pleasure and comfort, take a long rest for a slight illness and groan without being ill, etc. These comrades are very enthusiastic about feathering their own cosy nests but show little interest in the socialist cause which must be done now. We hope these comrades will pause and think carefully: What is the purpose of joining the revolution and the Communist Party? Should they dedicate their lives to the fight for communism or work for a certain personal goal? If they had toiled and sweated for the Party and the people in the past, should they now continue the revolution or sit back to enjoy the fruit of the revolution? These are sharp questions these comrades should seriously consider.

From the viewpoint of classes and class struggle, the decline in the revolutionary will of some people is nothing strange, for it is a profound reflection within our revolutionary ranks of the acute struggle between the two classes and two roads. In the years of revolutionary war, many comrades struggled persistently in the countryside, living the harsh life under the largely egalitarian free supply system. None thought of getting promotions or making a personal fortune. They didn't think of drawing a salary at all, let alone owning a car or a house. In those days all were united as one, ready to lay down their lives for our cause to overthrow the rule of the three major enemies and liberate the whole of China. In the early days of the liberation, we still kept these fine traditions and lived a life under the free supply system of military communism.

Under such circumstances, fewer mistakes were made among our cadres. With the development of the socialist cause, the free supply system was replaced by the wage system, and the life of the cadres was improved substantially. If this problem were understood and dealt with correctly, it would not hinder our continued struggle for communism. However, a small number of comrades lost their vigilance and their heads in the colorful world of commodities and exchange through money. They no longer thought of how to do more for the Party and the people but how to improve their position and treatment. Thus they became more bureaucratic, arrogant, conceited, indolent and extravagant, while losing their revolutionary will and vigor day by day. This shows that the idea of bourgeois rights has a serious corrosive influence on people.

Some people also think that they are "entitled" to better treatment. Their "reason" is this: I have performed merit for the revolution, and the people should reward me handsomely. Such is exactly the idea of bourgeois rights, an idea of regarding oneself as a commodity to be exchanged at equal values. Countless revolutionary martyrs unhesitantly gave up their lives to the cause of liberating mankind, and none of them had even thought of reward. But some comrades who have performed certain merit for the revolution or who think they have done good work while the fact is that what they have done for the revolution is not much, go so far as to stretch out their hands and bargain with the Party and the people. If they compare themselves with the revolutionary martyrs, how can they not feel ashamed? We Communists make revolution not for the purpose of seeking bourgeois rights but, on the contrary, for the purpose of ultimately abolishing them. Although we cannot do this at the present stage, our goal must be realized gradually. If we pursue what we are going to wipe out eventually, we are bound to lose sight of the great objectives of communism. What kind of Communists are we?

In the view of proletarian revolutionaries, the correct attitude one should adopt is this: "Revolution comes first, work comes first, and others come first." Once we have the idea of serving the people heart and soul, we will be able to promote the Party's excellent traditions, whatever the circumstances. We will not take on airs when we have risen to a higher position; we will not become arrogant when we enjoy a better life; and we will not become indolent when we have grown old. We will not complain when our work changes, for we submit to the needs of the Party and the people in doing everything. Such proletarian revolutionaries are unconquerable. They will not be subdued by, but will subdue, "poor health conditions," "work difficulties" and inducements of money and beautiful women. In order to maintain a vigorous revolutionary will, we must combat the bourgeois world outlook of "all for myself." We must do good things all our lives, be consistently useful to the people and to the revolution. As long as we breathe,our struggle will never cease.

Mei Ch'eng, a literateur of Western Han, once wrote a famous poem "Seven Revelations" in the style of the poet Ch'ü Yüan. It is worth reading as it may help us cure the decline of revolutionary will. The poem concerns the visit to the Crown Prince of Ch'u, who was then taken ill, by a man from the state of Wu. The man told the Crown Prince to his face that his illness stemmed from his decadent lifestyle, which in turn

stemmed from his decadent thought. Going out always by carriage was the cause of his paralysis; the cold and gloomy palace was the carrier of his fever; his beautiful concubines were like a sharp axe hurting his vitality; and sweet wine and fat meat were toxics harming his stomach and intestines. He could be cured not by medicine or accupuncture but only by "good advice." These words deserve to be noted and pondered about deeply. The decline of revolutionary will is also a disease of mental obduracy, and no injections, medicine and hospitalization can cure it. Those comrades who suffer from this "disease" have all forgotton the "good advice" of Marxism.

The reason why many of our comrades have not lost their vigorous revolutionary will or any of their fine qualities of arduous struggle is that they have been seriously studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, arming their heads with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, remolding their world outlook and constantly going deep into reality and among the masses. By constantly studying new things and absorbing new nutrients, they have preserved the source of thought. On the contrary, those whose revolutionary will declines mostly do not read books or newspapers, placing themselves above others and divorcing themselves from the masses, their minds like a pool of stagnant water. As time goes on, they will become rusty.

Storms of mass struggle are grinding stones to sharpen revolutionary will, and the three great revolutionary movements are classrooms where one learns to fight and prevent revisionism. Those comrades whose revolutionary will has weakened must never lock themselves up in their "cosy nests." They must march toward the masses, to the fiery struggle, to conduct some investigation and research, to see what the masses are doing and thinking. This will broaden their vision and arouse their revolutionary spirit. At the same time, they must try their best to take part in labor of which they are capable. Many bad things begin with lack of participation in labor. Living a privileged life makes people degenerate easily. Lu Hsün once sharply criticized those parasites who stayed away from labor and who tried to "stand aloof" and "lead a reclusive life," saying, "All well-known hermits are fortunate in that they have been leading 'a leisurely life and idling their years away.' Yes, how can those who chop wood in the morning, plow the fields at noon, water the vegetables in the evening, and weave clothes at night have the time to smoke and sip tea, to read poetry and write?" If we Communists and revolutionary cadres take pleasure in keeping away from labor, from the masses and work, and live a "leisurely life," how can we be distinguished from landlords and capitalists?

The Chinese revolution is great, but the high tide of greater pride still lies ahead. All Communists and revolutionary cadres who are resolved to devote themselves entirely to the cause of communism must make an effort to practice Chairman Mao's teaching, "We must have vigor and a strong revolutionary will." We must display the lofty and dauntless revolutionary spirit, continue the revolution, and carry revolutionary work through to the end.

* * *

Do Away with the Theory of External Causes, Consciously Resist Corruption

by

Chiang Ching-hung (江景宏)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, Aug. 1, 1975)

Having studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, cadres and the masses have consciously resisted corruption by the bourgeois style of life and further promoted the proletarian revolutionary spirit. But in the struggle against corruption, there are still some comrades who hold that since the bourgeois style of life still exists in society, they can't hardly avoid being contaminated. This idea should be overcome as it is wrong in theory and harmful in practice.

Is the bourgeois style of life so hard to resist? Certainly not. Many revolutionary comrades have been persisting in reading and studying and transforming their world outlook for several decades. They have never hitched on the journey of ten thousand li and their revolutionary will has never flagged as they have always preserved the revolutionary features of the proletariat. Faced with such colorful stuff as commodities and money, they have always remained sober and sharp. "Sugar-coated bullets" cannot break them, "fragrant wind" cannot blow them down, and money cannot shake their revolutionary will. They have toiled hard and never forgotten their origin. Not only do they "avoid getting their shoes wet while standing on the riverbank," but they have launched an attack on the idea of bourgeois rights as they are determined to narrow the three major differences and make a radical rupture with the traditional property relations and traditional concepts, thus setting us an example in study.

The idea that the bourgeois style of life is difficult to resist denies the dialectical relationship between internal and external causes of the development of things. It stresses only external conditions and neglects internal ones. It makes a revolutionary forget his subjective initiative and revolutionary responsibility in changing the objective world, besides causing him to be trapped by the metaphysical theory of external causes.

Chairman Mao points out: "The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing." This is also true with the development and change of people's thinking and life style. In socialist society, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist for a long time, bourgeois rights have still not been eliminated, and the bourgeoisie still wants to corrupt the revolutionary ranks in the political, economic,ideological and cultural fields. This is inevitable. But it is wrong for us to take this as an excuse for acquiring the bourgeois style of life.
Dialectical materialism holds that there are internal and external causes of the development of things, the internal cause being the basis and the primary factor and the external cause being the condition and the secondary factor, with the external cause operating through the internal cause. Contrariwise, the metaphysical theory of external causes "simply seeks the

causes of development outside a thing and negates the doctrine advocated by materialist dialectics about development arising out of the contradictoriness within a thing." It fails to get hold of the fundamental causes of the development of a thing through its internal contradictoriness. Therefore, it also cannot correctly interpret why, under similar objective conditions, only a section of people are corrupted by the bourgeois style of life while the great majority of revolutionary comrades can resist it. The corrosive influence of the bourgeois style of life does not act on all people. If our world outlook is better transformed and if our minds are filled with more proletarian things, we can consciously discern and resist the bourgeois trash. But if we relax our ideological transformation and if the bourgeois "kingdom" exists in our world outlook, when bourgeois things attack us, we will not be able to discern and resist them but, instead, relish and welcome them. That is why some Party members and cadres fight a losing battle against corruption by the bourgeois style of life. This is a lesson we should remember.

A genuine revolutionary is fully armed to defeat the corruption by the bourgeois style of life. Although there is still soil and conditions for its existence, the bourgeois style of life, like the ideologies of all declining classes, is something headed for extinction and something weak and fragile in essence. We have the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, a powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, millions and millions of awakened people, and superior conditions to defeat corruption by bourgeois ideology. However tortuous the road may be, proletarian ideology is sure to gradually triumph over bourgeois ideology, and the bourgeois style of life is sure to gradually lose its market. We Communists are burdened with the historical task of changing the objective world. To fight against the bourgeois style of life and to thoroughly triumph over it is an important aspect of the transformation of the objective world. In this struggle, we must also transform our own subjective world and raise our ability to resist corruption. Therefore, in the face of an attack by the bourgeois style of life, it is wrong for us not to struggle against it daringly, nor can we defeat it if we are weak. We must also see that the bourgeois style of life is highly obdurate. It is like a diseased germ; if you do not destroy it, it will attack you. "Where the bloom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself." A revolutionary should give full play to his subjective initiative in transforming the objective world, oppose corruption by bourgeois ideas, continue to destroy the contagion, plague and ulcer of capitalism, and preserve and develop the proletarian revolutionary style.

Of course, while emphasizing the role of internal causes, we do not neglect the external causes. To stress internal causes to the exclusion of external causes is also a metaphysical viewpoint. It is precisely because we see that the bourgeois style of life exists objectively and still exerts a great corrosive effect and hinders the promotion of the proletarian revolutionary spirit that we stress the need to unfold an active struggle against bourgeois ideas, transform our world outlook, and build a great ideological wall to combat and prevent revisionism, so that the influence of the bourgeois style of life will not become operative so easily through internal causes.

Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, ringleaders of the revisionist line, advocated "cultivating oneself behind closed doors" and "setting off a revolution in the depths of one's soul." On the surface, they seemed to attach great importance to internal causes. Actually, they negated the dialectical relationship between internal and external causes in the change of things and advocated the subjective-idealist line of knowledge. They opposed revolutionary practice and the transformation of people's thinking in revolutionary practice. To deal with the bourgeois style of life according to such a line of knowledge is not to struggle against it at all, and it is not necessary to strengthen one's own anti-corruption ability through such struggle. It is very clear that if we "cultivate ourselves behind closed doors" in such a way, we will naturally be corroded by the bourgeois style of life and nothing but revisionism will be "set off" in the depths of our souls. The reactionary fallacies of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao entirely served their criminal purpose of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

The dialectical-materialist theory that internal causes are the basis and external causes the condition makes us realize that the most fundamental thing a revolutionary must do in resisting corruption by bourgeois ideas is to seriously read and study the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, to understand the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, take an active part in the practice of the three major revolutionary movements, continuously raise his consciousness of class and line struggles and of resisting corruption. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is our ideological weapon for observing society and analyzing problems. Only by grasping this weapon well, actively fighting selfishness, criticizing revisionism, and repudiating the idea of bourgeois rights can we in the complicated struggle discern and resist the bourgeois stuff of various descriptions and strengthen our power to resist corruption by the bourgeois style of life. We must persist in reading and studying and continuously purge our minds of non-proletarian ideas in the course of revolutionary practice. When attacked by the bourgeois style of life, we shall fight against it instead of being contaminated by it, and always preserve our revolutionary youth.

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The Leadership Should Be Daring To Assume Responsibility

by

Yüan Ch'ing (袁青)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao points out: "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." In the struggle to mobilize the broad masses to implement the Party's line, leading cadres at various levels shoulder an extremely important responsibility. Their mentality and whether they can thoroughly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in the revolutionary spirit of daring to assume responsibility have a great bearing on leading the masses to change the outlook of an area or a unit.

To be responsible to work, leaders must first of all come to a firm grip of major matters and the line. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line represents the interests and wishes of the proletariat and the revolutionary people and is the basic assurance for us to carry out socialist revolution and construction successfully. To be daring to assume responsibility, leaders must, above all, boldly and resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and translate it into a conscious action of the broad masses. The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place. Whether a leadership group is strong or not primarily depends on its consciousness in grasping major issues and the line. Where the leadership group is strong and powerful and the leading cadres resolutely implement the directives given by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, there work will be done full of sound and color, the socialist activism of the masses will be brought into full play, and revolution and production will flourish. This is a basic experience that has been confirmed repeatedly by facts.

To be daring to take up responsibility, we must face the contradictions squarely and solve problems with a positive attitude. In the course of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we are bound to be confronted by various obstacles and difficulties, contradictions and struggles. Strategically scorn difficulties but tactically take them seriously--this is the basic attitude of Communists in tackling difficulties. Given the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, and provided that we can solve problems with a positive attitude, no contradiction is too difficult to resolve and no difficulty too difficult to surmount. We must have the confidence in our ability to win. However, when it comes to concrete work, we must give serious attention to contradictions and solve problems one by one with a high sense of responsibility. Dust will not vanish by itself where the broom does not reach; contradictions will not disappear if no effort is made to overcome them. Victory is always won at the price of hard work and arduous struggle. If you only talk about implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line while in reality evading and covering up the contradictions and adopting no effective measures to solve them, problems will be piled up, their solution so long delayed that damage will be done to the Party cause.

For instance, the problem of bourgeois factionalism in some localities appears to be formidable, but if it is seriously dealt with, it is not difficult to settle. The contradiction between the proletarian Party spirit and bourgeois factionalism is a reflection of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines. No one will gain support if he practices bourgeois factionalism, disrupts stability and unity, and undermines revolution and production. Provided that we analyze problems from the viewpoint of class struggle, discern clearly the essence and danger of bourgeois factionalism, mobilize the masses and create a vigorous revolutionary situation--from inside the Party to outside the Party and from cadres to the masses--where everyone talks about the line, the overall situation, the Party spirit, unity and discipline, and provided that we wage an uncompromising fight against bourgeois factionalism while carrying out meticulous ideological work, then, the majority of people will be educated and wake up quickly, a handful of people who stubbornly cling to bourgeois factionalism will be isolated, the class enemies who use bourgeois factionalism to make trouble will be thoroughly exposed, and revolution and production will develop. This is as true with the elimination of bourgeois factionalism as it is with the solution of other contradictions, and the key is to be daring to face the contradictions squarely and be good at analyzing and solving them. In the course of penetratingly studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leading cadres at various levels must all emphasize "daring" and firmly grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines as the key link. Under the guidance of Marxist theory, they must conscientiously carry out investigation and study and appropriately solve the practical problems arising from revolution and production in their own localities, departments and units in order to further develop the favorable situation and create a new phase in struggle.

To be daring to assume responsibility, it is essential to adhere to Party principles and to struggle against various erroneous tendencies running counter to Party principles. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us that being a Communist one should take the interest of the revolution as his first life and submit his personal interest to revolutionary interest. "At all times and in all places one should uphold correct principles and tirelessly struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions." Leading cadres of the Party should all the more do so. In all our work there exists from beginning to end a fierce struggle between the two roads and two lines. Whether to uphold Party principles and socialism or to abandon Party principles and make way for capitalism is a problem constantly confronting leading cadres at all levels. It is a big mistake for some cadres to be afraid of upholding Party principles for fear of offending others. "Wherever there are people, they are divided into left, middle and right sections." Things are always like this. If you want to adhere to Party principles and uphold socialism, you are bound to "offend" those who go against Party principles and practice capitalism. It is impossible to have all people on your side. We must firmly struggle against a handful of class enemies and impose the proletarian dictatorship on them. As for those within the ranks of the people imbued with the bourgeois style of thinking, the leadership must stick to Party principles and give them appropriate criticism in order to educate and help them. When they have not wakened, they may be discontented; but after they have wakened, they will join us and fight by our side.

Adhering to Party principles is an important condition leading cadres must meet if they are to gain the confidence and support of the masses and to lead them to march forward. In real life, we can see that the more the leading cadres adhere to principles and dare to struggle, the higher their revolutionary authority will be. And only such cadres can have the Party's line, principles and policies implemented among the masses and lead them to build socialism in a big way. If they are lacking in a sense of revolutionary principle and struggle, if they are hesitant and timid when confronted with contradictions in the struggle between the two lines and prefer to be "good and nice teachers," and if they go so far as to use authority to grant small favors and barter away principles, then they are bound to lose the support of the vast majority of the people in the end. And such cadres not only will not accomplish anything but will be surrounded by those who flatter and curry favors with them and eventually become prisoners of bourgeois ideology. That would be very dangerous indeed. Whether a leading cadre dares to cling to Party principles and has a sense of revolutionary struggle is, in the final analysis, a question of whether he works for the interests of the majority or those of the few, a question of purity of Party spirit.

So far as the Party organization of a department or unit is concerned, it must properly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In doing so, a very important thing is to strengthen the collective leadership of the Party committee and to combine collective leadership properly with division of individual responsibility so as to form a strong Marxist leadership core. The Party's organizational principle is democratic centralism. Every member of the Party committee must, in the spirit of holding himself accountable to the revolution, grasp the line, bear the overall situation in mind, stress unity, and endeavor to achieve unity in thinking and action on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The secretary must be good in being a "squad leader." Ideas must be constantly exchanged and mutual help and support practiced between the secretary and committee members and among committee members. All important problems concerning the Party's line, principle and policies must be seriously discussed at Party committee meetings, opinions must be fully expressed, and once resolutions are adopted, they must be carried out firmly. Only thus can the leadership squad take up the responsibility, carry the burden, and truly become a combat headquarters in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; only thus can it solve various contradictions and problems effectively in work and promote still faster development of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

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Practice Is the Source of Development of Agricultural Science

by

Chin Feng (金枫)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1975)

Agricultural science has been developed from the practice of agricultural production. Man's knowledge of agriculture primarily depends on his practical activities in agricultural production, while at the same time other practical activities also play an important part. In this connection, particularly class struggle in various forms exerts a profound influence on the development of man's knowledge. A study of the history of the development of agricultural science shows not only how man comes to know and transform nature through the struggle for production, but also how the ideas of advanced classes and advanced social systems have promoted the development of agricultural science and how the ideas of declining classes and decadent social systems have hindered the development of agricultural science. This is of practical significance for us to better adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, uphold the dialectical-materialist world outlook, and promote the rapid development of agricultural production and agricultural science.

The Laboring People Are the Creators of Agricultural Science

"Agriculture was the decisive production sector of the entire ancient world." The appearance of agriculture enabled man to have a relatively stable source of food and the conditions for fixed settlement as well as laying the foundation for the subsequent development of industry and society as a whole.

Who, then, created agriculture and agricultural science? Is it the laboring people or God? This question has for a long time been a subject of struggle between materialism and idealism.

In remote antiquity, people, being unable to give correct interpretations to a lot of natural and social phenomena, often explained them with myths. This is true with the creation and invention of agriculture. In ancient Egypt, Babylon and Greece there were legends of God inventing agriculture. In ancient China there was the myth that Shen Nung* created agriculture. "Myths propose the conquest and domination of natural forces by imagination or with the help of imagination and give natural forces an image." Although these myths are without substance, they nevertheless contain the objective content of the struggle waged by our ancestors against nature. The allegation that "Shen Nung tasted the herbs and differentiated the cereals" reflected to a certain extent the process in which the primitive man differentiated various kinds of plants

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* A legendary ruler supposed to have introduced agriculture and herbal medicine.

and domesticated wild plants as agricultural crops. This image, Shen Nung, embodies in exaggerated form the collective wisdom and strength of the masses of people in creating agriculture in prolonged production practice.

By the time of the slave system, the slave-owners, in order to hoodwink the masses and preserve their rule, proclaimed that everything in the world was created by God. "Shih Ching" /Classics of Poetry/ says that "Heaven endows the earth with fine seeds" ("Birth of a Nation--Great Elegance"), attributing the crops bred by the laboring people as something bestowed by Heaven. In the West, the Christian "Bible" also says that God created men, animals and plants. The common feature of these absurdities is to obliterate the great contributions made by the laboring people to the conquest of nature and negate the wisdom and strength of the laboring people.

This theory of creation by God had been subjected to a sharp criticism by Legalists in ancient China. Wang Ch'ung (王充), a materialist of the Han dynasty, pointed out that the thousands and thousands of living things were not created by Heaven and earth. "Even if they were created by Heaven and earth, they had to be created by hand. How could Heaven and earth have thousands and thousands of hands to create thousands and thousands of things?" ("Nature--Lun Heng /Miscellaneous Essays/) The thousands and thousands of hands could only belong to the laboring people. Agricultural crops, as plants cultivated by man, were precisely created by the thousands and thousands of hands of the laboring masses. Chia Ssu-hsieh (賈思勰), the outstanding agriculturist of Latter Wei, in his book "Ch'i Min Yao Shu" /General Treatise of Agriculture/ recorded a great number of crops named after people, such as "Wei Shuang-huang," "Liu Sha-pai" and "Lo Pei-ch'ing," thus also convincingly disproving the fallacy that crops and their varieties were bestowed by God.

To be sure, the ancient simple materialism could not provide a scientific answer to the question of whether it was God or the laboring people who created agriculture and agricultural science. This question can only be correctly answered by Marxism. The historical science of Marxism, based on the rich data provided by biology, archaeology, and anthropology, tells us that a very long time ago man lived on picking fruit, fishing and hunting. By the time of the New Stone Age, man learned to cultivate herbs and grow crops, initiating labor in agricultural production. "The emergence and development of science were from the first determined by production." In the course of domestication of wild plants and cultivation of crops, in the course of agricultural production, people passed through a long period of observation and experiment, experienced countless failures and successes, accumulated preliminary knowledge concerning the laws of growth of agricultural crops, and created simple cultivation techniques. This was the sprout of agricultural science.

Agricultural science is the crystallization of the practical experience in agricultural production, and agricultural production is a great struggle in which the laboring people in their millions are engaged.

Without the practice of the laboring masses in agricultural production, it was out of the question for agricultural science to emerge and develop. Today, although few ancient agricultural books have been preserved in our country, yet judging by those that exist, the laboring people in ancient China had made a great deal of creations in agricultural science, which still shine with brilliance even down to this day. They not only bred a great number of grain crops such as millet, maize, corn, sorghum, legume, wheat and rice, but also bred among these crops a great number of varieties with different characteristics adaptable to different climatic, soil and other conditions. According to "Ch'i Min Yao Shu," there were as many as 86 varieties of millet alone in 6th-century China, having respectively such characteirstics as being tolerant to drought, water and wind, immune to sparrow, and resistant to insect pests. Varieties of other crops also developed in number. By the 1950's, there were more than 40,000 varieties of paddy rice and more than 20,000 varieties of wheat in our country. Ancient agricultural writings also recorded a series of measures aimed at increasing output, such as planting crops in accordance with local conditions, deep plowing and manuring, crop rotation, irrigation and drainage. Had the laboring people not gained a preliminary knowledge from production practice of the relationship between seeds and crops and the relationship between crops and the environment, these achievements could not have been attained.

The history of development of agriculture and agricultural science has eloquently proved that the laboring people are the creators of agriculture and agricultural science, and cast to the winds the idealist fallacy that agriculture and agricultural science were created by God or "genuises." People like ancient Rome's Cato and China's Chia Ssu-hsieh were able to make definite contributions to ancient agriculture not because they had supergenius but because they summed up the rich experience of the laboring masses in agricultural production in their times. Chia Ssu-hsien had said: His "Ch'i Min Yao Shu" was written on the basis of "commentaries he had collected, the folk songs he had studied, his interviews with veterans and his testing the theories in practice." ("Preface to Ch'i Min Yao Shu") Chairman Mao says: "The mean are the cleverest! The noble are the most stupid." However precise and profound these theories of the agriculturists, they could only be the "flow," and the "source" was the practice in agricultural production of the masses of people. Apart from the practice of the masses, their theories would be like rivers without sources and trees without roots and become unreliable things. If agriculturists want to make contributions to agriculture and agricultural science, they must get in touch with the masses, learn from them and continue to draw on their practical experience.

Know and Transform Nature in the Struggle for Production

There have all along been two diametrically opposite views in agricultural science on the question of whether man can understand and transform nature. One view holds that man is powerless in his confrontation with nature and can only submit to the will of Heaven and become the slave of nature. The other view holds that man can understand and transform nature and become its master. The former is idealist and the latter materialist. The struggle between the two of them was manifested in ancient China as the struggle between the Confucian theory of Heavenly will and the Legalist anti-Heavenly will theory.

and domesticated wild plants as agricultural crops. This image, Shen Nung, embodies in exaggerated form the collective wisdom and strength of the masses of people in creating agriculture in prolonged production practice.

By the time of the slave system, the slave-owners, in order to hoodwink the masses and preserve their rule, proclaimed that everything in the world was created by God. "Shih Ching" /Classics of Poetry/ says that "Heaven endows the earth with fine seeds" ("Birth of a Nation--Great Elegance"), attributing the crops bred by the laboring people as something bestowed by Heaven. In the West, the Christian "Bible" also says that God created men, animals and plants. The common feature of these absurdities is to obliterate the great contributions made by the laboring people to the conquest of nature and negate the wisdom and strength of the laboring people.

This theory of creation by God had been subjected to a sharp criticism by Legalists in ancient China. Wang Ch'ung (王充), a materialist of the Han dynasty, pointed out that the thousands and thousands of living things were not created by Heaven and earth. "Even if they were created by Heaven and earth, they had to be created by hand. How could Heaven and earth have thousands and thousands of hands to create thousands and thousands of things?" ("Nature--Lun Heng /Miscellaneous Essays/) The thousands and thousands of hands could only belong to the laboring people. Agricultural crops, as plants cultivated by man, were precisely created by the thousands and thousands of hands of the laboring masses. Chia Ssu-hsieh (賈思勰), the outstanding agriculturist of Latter Wei, in his book "Ch'i Min Yao Shu" /General Treatise of Agriculture/ recorded a great number of crops named after people, such as "Wei Shuang-huang," "Liu Sha-pai" and "Lo Pei-ch'ing," thus also convincingly disproving the fallacy that crops and their varieties were bestowed by God.

To be sure, the ancient simple materialism could not provide a scientific answer to the question of whether it was God or the laboring people who created agriculture and agricultural science. This question can only be correctly answered by Marxism. The historical science of Marxism, based on the rich data provided by biology, archaeology, and anthropology, tells us that a very long time ago man lived on picking fruit, fishing and hunting. By the time of the New Stone Age, man learned to cultivate herbs and grow crops, initiating labor in agricultural production. "The emergence and development of science were from the first determined by production." In the course of domestication of wild plants and cultivation of crops, in the course of agricultural production, people passed through a long period of observation and experiment, experienced countless failures and successes, accumulated preliminary knowledge concerning the laws of growth of agricultural crops, and created simple cultivation techniques. This was the sprout of agricultural science.

Agricultural science is the crystallization of the practical experience in agricultural production, and agricultural production is a great struggle in which the laboring people in their millions are engaged.

Without the practice of the laboring masses in agricultural production, it was out of the question for agricultural science to emerge and develop. Today, although few ancient agricultural books have been preserved in our country, yet judging by those that exist, the laboring people in ancient China had made a great deal of creations in agricultural science, which still shine with brilliance even down to this day. They not only bred a great number of grain crops such as millet, maize, corn, sorghum, legume, wheat and rice, but also bred among these crops a great number of varieties with different characteristics adaptable to different climatic, soil and other conditions. According to "Ch'i Min Yao Shu," there were as many as 86 varieties of millet alone in 6th-century China, having respectively such characteirstics as being tolerant to drought, water and wind, immune to sparrow, and resistant to insect pests. Varieties of other crops also developed in number. By the 1950's, there were more than 40,000 varieties of paddy rice and more than 20,000 varieties of wheat in our country. Ancient agricultural writings also recorded a series of measures aimed at increasing output, such as planting crops in accordance with local conditions, deep plowing and manuring, crop rotation, irrigation and drainage. Had the laboring people not gained a preliminary knowledge from production practice of the relationship between seeds and crops and the relationship between crops and the environment, these achievements could not have been attained.

The history of development of agriculture and agricultural science has eloquently proved that the laboring people are the creators of agriculture and agricultural science, and cast to the winds the idealist fallacy that agriculture and agricultural science were created by God or "genuises." People like ancient Rome's Cato and China's Chia Ssu-hsieh were able to make definite contributions to ancient agriculture not because they had supergenius but because they summed up the rich experience of the laboring masses in agricultural production in their times. Chia Ssu-hsien had said: His "Ch'i Min Yao Shu" was written on the basis of "commentaries he had collected, the folk songs he had studied, his interviews with veterans and his testing the theories in practice." ("Preface to Ch'i Min Yao Shu") Chairman Mao says: "The mean are the cleverest! The noble are the most stupid." However precise and profound these theories of the agriculturists, they could only be the "flow," and the "source" was the practice in agricultural production of the masses of people. Apart from the practice of the masses, their theories would be like rivers without sources and trees without roots and become unreliable things. If agriculturists want to make contributions to agriculture and agricultural science, they must get in touch with the masses, learn from them and continue to draw on their practical experience.

Know and Transform Nature in the Struggle for Production

There have all along been two diametrically opposite views in agricultural science on the question of whether man can understand and transform nature. One view holds that man is powerless in his confrontation with nature and can only submit to the will of Heaven and become the slave of nature. The other view holds that man can understand and transform nature and become its master. The former is idealist and the latter materialist. The struggle between the two of them was manifested in ancient China as the struggle between the Confucian theory of Heavenly will and the Legalist anti-Heavenly will theory.

In ancient China, the Confucians, political representatives of the decadent reactionary forces, in order to maintain their reactionary domination, went all out to advocate the theory of Heavenly will. Confucius and his disciples claimed that "life and death are preordained and riches and honors come from Heaven." ("Confucian Analects: Yen Yüan") Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒) said, "Heaven--the life-giver of all things." ("Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu /Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals/: Submission to Will") On the other hand, the Legalists, as representatives of the progressive forces, stood fast to reform and progress and vigorously opposed the theory of Heavenly will. They believed that Heaven was not God or spirit, but a part of the material world of nature. On the basis of this materialist understanding of Heaven, Hsün K'uang advanced the shining idea that man was sure to triumph over Heaven. He maintained that if only one could act in accordance with the laws, one could "subdue the will of Heaven and make use of it." ("Hsün Tzu: On Heaven") This was a forceful criticism of the Confucian theory of Heavenly will.

The struggle between the Confucian theory of Heavenly will and the Legalist anti-Heavenly will theory had a profound influence on the development of agricultural production and agricultural science in ancient China. A history of agricultural science is not only a history of the triumph of the laboring people over nature but also a history of the triumph of the idea that man will triumph over Heaven over the idea of the theory of Heavenly will.

Can man know the laws of agricultural production? The practice in agricultural production over the past thousands of years supplies an affirmative answer. Take climate for example. The Confucians believed that it was bestowed by Heaven and was an extremely mysterious thing determining the growth and decline of agricultural crops and that it was beyond man to apprehend it. But the fact is not so. Following the development of the practice of agricultural production, man came to gradually recognize the importance of planting crops under conditions suited to the climate at a given time and place and found out the appropriate sowing periods for different varieties of different crops. In order to appropriately arrange for various types of agricultural activities and in order to adapt the growth of agricultural crops to the particular climate, people through prolonged observation of the relationship between the sun and the earth, gradually formulated 24 seasonal periods. From dividing a year into four seasons to dividing it into 24 seasonal periods, people obviously arrived at a more accurate and profound understanding of the laws governing the movement of the climate. Not only that, but people in the course of productive labor also gradually recognized that what was meant by climate merely referred to such definitive conditions as sunshine, air temperature and humidity so far as agriculture was concerned. The extent to which these conditions were brought under control also determined the extent to which the climate was controlled. As early as the Han dynasty, the Chinese laboring people had, on the basis of this understanding, created green house culture, and successfully grew in winter vegetables that were supposed to grow only in spring and summer. This was a great beginning in ancient agriculture, a beginning of man's understanding and control of climate.

On the question of soil fertility, the Legalist Hsün K'uang summed up the experience of agricultural production in his time, and put forward the proposition that "more manure will make the fields more fertile," pointing out: "Now the five kinds of cereals are grown on the earth. If man can make good use of soil, he can reap a bumper crop and two crops a year." ("Hsün Tzu: Enriching a State") If only we could "make good use of it," soil would turn from lean to fertile, output would rise to a high from a low level, and even two crops could be reaped in a year. Later, Wang Ch'ung recognized even more clearly: "Deep plowing and intensive harrowing, applying more manure and doubling the effort of man--these will make the land productive." ("Lun Heng: Learning Nature") These views conformed more or less to objective reality and forcefully criticized the Confucian theory that the fertility of the land was endowed by Heaven.

Under the influence of the Confucian theory of Heavenly will--"Heaven changes not, so Tao changes not," the theory of acclimation prevailed for some time in the history of Chinese agriculture. This concept held that it was impossible to change the types of crops that were suitable for planting in various areas of ancient China, that people could only stick to the old methods, the rules of thumb, and plant crops according to the pre-determined zoning of crops. However, the laboring people, rich in the spirit of reform, continued to smash this fallacy of following the beaten path and returning to the past. In the Han dynasty our country had already introduced alfalfa and grapes from the Western Frontier; during the Yüan dynasty cotton was brought into the interior from the border regions; and in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties the growing of sweet potatoes was gradually extended from the south to areas north of the Yellow River. A great number of farm crops of different varieties bred by the laboring people in the course of production practice adorned the great earth, making it more colorful and lustrious and considerably enriching man's material life. In the sphere of agricultural science, the theory of acclimation was criticized as early as the 13th century. In the late Ming dynasty, Hsu Kuang-ch'i (徐光啓), an agriculturist who honored the Legalist school and opposed Confucianism, pointed out: "There is no truth in saying that what is suitable to be grown on the land cannot be changed" and "there is nothing which cannot be grown if we make the utmost use of crop culture." ("Nung Cheng Ch'uan Shu /A Comprehensive Work of Agricultural Science/: The Foundation of Agriculture") In addition, he confirmed the view that "where man's effort is applied, the forces of Heaven may be overcome." ("Nung Cheng Ch'uan Shu: Cultivation Techniques") Thus he went a step further and raised the controvery over the theory of acclimation to the level of the struggle between the theory of Heavenly will and the anti-Heavenly will theory.

The laboring people are inexhaustible in their strength to know and transform nature. But the extent to which this strength can be used is invariably influenced and restrained by the social system and the political line. In ancient China, during the transitional period from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods to Ch'in and Han, the laboring people raised their enthusiasm for production in the wake of the collapse of the slave system and the founding of the feudal system. Driven by the

Legalist line, there appeared a period of substantial development of agricultural production and agricultural science in our country. The extensive use of iron farm implements and the gradual popularization of draft animals markedly raised people's capacity to transform nature; the building of such large-scale water conservation projects as the well-known Tuchiang Dam, Chengkuo Canal, Ling Canal, and Pai Canal changed the outlook of agricultural production and created favorable conditions for subduing natural disasters and reaping bumper farm harvests; the appearance of such advanced cultivation techniques as the ridge planting method, the rotation method, and the zone planting method, the wide use of organic manure and the improvement of manuring techniques formed the fine tradition of the uniquely intensive plowing and careful culture in our country. All this placed agricultural production and agricultural science and technology in our country in the forefront of the world in the whole of antiquity. However, the establishment of the feudal system after all meant the replacement of an old system of exploitation by a new system of exploitation; moreover, it was founded on the basis of the peasant individual economy, imposing considerable constraints on the development of the social productive forces.

In socialist society the laboring people have truly become the masters of nature. Chairman Mao says: "Socialism not only liberates the laborers and the means of production from the old society but also liberates the vast world of nature that the old society was incapable of using." It is only then that the wisdom, ability and strength of the laboring people can be brought into full play and nature can be transformed at a speed and on a scale unwitnessed before. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's vast numbers of laboring people, displaying the heroic spirit of making tall mountains bow and rivers make way, declared war on nature and made fresh arrangements for the mountains and rivers of their mother country and are now writing one song after another singing the praises of man's triumph over Heaven. For the past 20 years and more after liberation, the great achievements made by the Chinese people in transforming nature surpassed all achievements made in all past epochs, signifying the victory of the idea that man will surely defeat Heaven over the reactionary theory of Heavenly will. To be sure, owing to the existence of classes and class struggle and the presence of the traces of the old society and the influence of old ideas, the theory of Heavenly will may still exist and may appear in new forms. However, "there is no doubt but that the collapse of these things is a foregone conclusion."

Knowledge of Agriculture Develops from a Low to a High Level

The characteristic of agricultural production is the cultivation of living agricultural crops. Every farm crop itself has a great deal of properties and special qualities and has its own laws of growth and development as well as having extremely close and variegated ties with the natural environment. In the course of agricultural production, what confronts people is not only the biological, physical and chemical movements but also the intricate and complicated interrelationship and interaction between

them. To understand such an extremely complicated matter as agricultural production requires a recurrent process of understanding.

When dealing with the development of knowledge, Lenin pointed out: "Man's knowledge is not a straight line (i.e., it does not proceed along a straight line), but infinitely resembles a string of circles, a spiraling curve." The process of deepening of man's knowledge of the laws of agricultural production also develops according to a spiraling curve. One may clearly see this curve of knowledge on the question of the relationship between soil and crops.

The ancients, adhering to a simple dialectical viewpoint, initially perceived that crops could not only consume but also raise the fertility of soil, thus coming to realize the exchange of matter between soil and farm crops, namely the mutual transformation between the two. The laboring people in ancient China, based on this understanding, had created the rotation between grain crops and green manure crops and various kinds of different rotation systems for grain crops in order to raise soil fertility. However, as this knowledge lacked an accurate basis in natural science, it was subsequently replaced by a metaphysical idea. Under the influence of the mechanical conception of nature which held the ruling position in the 18th century, there once prevailed in the West the theory of so-called "vital force" on the relationship between plants and soil, which held that plants did not draw their nutrients from the external world but created them by their own "function of life." Then appeared the theory of "humus," which admitted that while plants had to draw nutrients from the external world, such nutrients could only be humus--organic matter. Both of these viewpoints did not recognize the relationship of mutual transformation between soil and plants, neither admitting that soil supplied plants with mineral nutrients nor admitting that the rotten and decomposed plants might turn into inorganic matter and became a part of the soil.

The man who made the first breach on this frozen and ossified viewpoint was the German chemist Justus Liebig. In 1840 Liebig, having summed up the achievements in agricultural chemistry, advanced a new viewpoint saying that the mineral substance was the foundation of plant nutrition, thereby breaking the metaphysical boundary between the organic world and the inorganic world in the sphere of agricultural science and making a large stride toward dialectics. He believed that since cultivation of crops consumed the mineral nutrients in the soil, it was necessary to apply inorganic manure to return the part consumed to the soil so as to preserve its fertility. Liebig's theory forcefully criticized the two metaphysical viewpoints--"vital force" and "humus," propounded the idea that man could sensibly regulate the exchange of matter between man and soil, exposed the evil consequences of the plunder-type management of the land in capitalist society, promoted the use of chemical methods to the research on soil and plants, and, above all, enhanced the extensive application of chemical fertilizer and the development of agriculture and agricultural science. Both Marx and Engels had affirmatively evaluated Liebig's theory.

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However, Liebig saw only the role of soil in supplying agricultural crops with nutrients without seeing the role of the latter in the formation of soil and the elevation of its fertility. In other words, as between soil and agricultural crops, he saw only the transformation of a single aspect without seeing mutual transformation. Dialectics holds that "all contradictory things are interrelated and not only coexist in a unified entity under given conditions but also transform into each other under given conditions." This pair of opposites, soil and plants, are involved in the process of dialectical development of mutual struggle and mutual transformation. In the periods of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet soil expert Williams (威廉斯) absorbed the practical experience of the laboring people, summed up the achievements of the preceding generation of soil experts, and pointed out correctly that living things were the leading factor among factors for the natural formation of soil and that the continuous succession of the plant colonies and concomitant microbes determined the succession of the types of soil and the development of soil fertility. The weathered rocks were only the mother substance of soil. Under conditions without plants, the mineral nutrients in the mother substance of the soil would vanish in the process of leaching out. Only the root system of the plants could "catch" these nutrients and turned them into their own component part to be stored up. Besides, some concomitant microbes were also able to absorb nitrogen in the air and fix it in the mother substance of soil. After the death and decomposition of plants, the nutrients remained in the mother substance. Through the accumulation of generations of living things, the nutrients in the mother substance of soil continued to increase and soil fertility continued to rise. In a certain sense, without plants there would be no soil fertility and no soil itself. On the basis of this theory, Williams expounded the close relationships among agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry, placed the three in equally important positions, devised the travopolye system ("Trivopole") aimed at restoring soil fertility. This contributed to the development of socialist agriculture in the Soviet Union at that time. However, the Khrushchev and Brezhnev renegade clique, in the course of restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, introduced the capitalist plunder-type management of agriculture and almost totally destroyed some achievements attained by Williams' theory. After coming to power, the Khrushchev and Brezhnev renegade clique pushed in the countryside a revisionist line. Although "state farms" and "collective farms" remained in name, in reality socialist ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by the laboring masses have been turned into ownership by a small handful of bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie and new rich peasants. This batch of new bourgeois elements are particularly avaricious, and in order to pursue maximum profits they have for the past 20 years and more consistently been practicing the plunder-type management of land, blindly reclaiming wasteland on a large scale at one moment and abandoning "trivopole" at another. This, coupled with insufficient investments in the building of water conservation projects, soil amelioration, afforestation and forest protection, caused grave damage to the fertility of the land. According to reports, in Kazakhstan alone, over 20 million hectares of the total reclaimed land were affected by wind- and sandstorms each year; in Ukraine about one-third of the agricultural land deteriorated due to water erosion. As a result, the sown acreage of grain declined with each passing

day and output dropped. In the ten years (1965 to 1974) since Brezhnev assumed power, output reductions were suffered in six years. A country which used to export grain has been obliged to rely on regular grain imports.

Marx pointed out that the land "is a product of the historical process of nature." Man's productive labor is an important factor for the formation of soil. Following the elevation of man's capacity to transform nature, the factor of man has become more and more important. As the laboring people in the course of productive labor continued to explore for the laws for turning lean land into fertile land, enhanced the maturity of soil by adopting such measures as deep plowing, intensive harrowing, manuring, irrigation and crop rotation, and paid attention to combining the use and maintenance of land, so far as the general trend is concerned, the fertility of the soil in our country had continued to rise over the past several thousand years. By the socialist society a new stage has been reached. The practice of Tachai brigade in improving the soil over many years proves that by knowing the laws governing the motion of soil, giving full scope to their subjective initiative and improving the soil according to the needs of gathering bumper yield, people can bring about a change that would take thousands of years and would even be virtually impossible if soil were left to its natural state.

Man's knowledge of the relationship between crops and soil thus advanced from the simple dialectical viewpoint to the scientific materialist dialectical viewpoint through the metaphysical viewpoint. This is no simple repetition, but a repetition on a higher basis, a spiral-type process of development.

The great leader Chairman Mao, applying materialist dialectics, has summed up the rich experience in agricultural production, carried out a scientific analysis of the various factors of agricultural production, and drawn up the "Eight-word Charter" for agriculture, thereby profoundly revealing the objective laws of agricultural production. Soil, fertilizer, water, seeds, close planting, plant protection, field care and farm implements are the eight basic factors making for increased output of agricultural crops, and they are interrelated, restraining as well as complementing each other. For the past 20 years and more the broad masses of peasants and scientific workers in our country have fully implemented the "Eight-word Charter" for agriculture in a manner suited to local conditions, practiced integration of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry, combined the use and maintenance of land, and carried out large-scale farmland capital construction in coordination with intensive plowing and careful culture. As a result, the various factors influencing agricultural production have been rationally applied in a comprehensive way under definite conditions, and high- and stable-yield fields have been created in large areas. This has immensely contributed to higher agricultural output.

No Limit to the Development of Agriculture and Agricultural Science

Is there a limit to the development of agriculture and agricultural science? This has been for long an important subject of debate between Marxism-Leninism and the reactionary social theory of the bourgeoisie.

In order to prove the eternity of the capitalist system of exploitation and the rationality of the hunger and poverty of the working class, the bourgeoisie has all along been giving publicity to the fallacy that agricultural production has reached its peak and hunger is threatening man. The "theory of population" advocated by Malthus toward the end of the 18th century, the "law of diminishing return of land" trumpeted by the Western bourgeois scholars in the 19th century, and the "population explosion" and "world food crisis" spread in Asia, Africa and Latin America by the apologists of imperialism and social-imperialism at the present moment are but different tunes of this reactionary viewpoint.

The teachers of the proletarian revolution have subjected these fallacies to an incisive criticism. Engels pointed out as early as 1844: "The productive forces dominated by man are inexhaustible. By applying capital, labor and science it is possible to raise the yield of land infinitely." Chairman Mao, too, points out: "There may appear in the future various things that have never been thought of by people before; the output of agricultural crops may be several times, a dozen times or even dozens of times higher than it is now." The fertility of the land will continue to rise following the reform of the social system and the advancement of science and technology. The history of development of agricultural production and agricultural science over the past thousands of years has been a history of man continuing to transform nature and raise the yield of agricultural crops. The transformation of the soil, the application of all kinds of fertilizer, the progress made in water conservation work on the farms, the breeding of fine varieties, higher capacity to resist natural calamities, the improvement of cultivation techniques, the use of new machines and new energy resources, and so forth--all these are promoting and will continue to promote the development of agricultural production. At present, the existing achievements made in science and technology are still far from being fully applied to agricultural production, and there will never be any limit to the development of science and technology. For this reason, the above-mentioned factors promoting the development of agriculture have unlimited potentials and an infinite future, and will never reach the peak. Here, all viewpoints of stagnation and pessimism have no basis whatsoever. In abstractedly talking about the need for "additional labor and additional capital" in disregard for the level of science and technology and the state of the productive forces, the scholars in the pay of the bourgeoisie who dished up the "law of diminishing return of the land" cannot avoid arriving at absurd conclusions. As a matter of fact, additional labor and capital are invariably accompanied by the adoption of new machines and new technology, implying technical innovation and the rise in productivity. Hence, Lenin pointed out: "The 'law of diminishing return of the land' is completely inapplicable to the situation where technology is advancing and the mode of production is changing." This so-called "law" is merely a hoax prepared for the purpose of covering up the various crimes of the capitalist system in disrupting agricultural production.

Capitalist countries, including Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, are faced with a declining agriculture and beset with a host of contradictions, and the root cause lies not in the "law of diminishing return of the land" but in the evil social system. Marx said: "Every step forward achieved in capitalist agriculture is not merely a

step forward in the skill of plundering labor but also a step forward in the skill of plundering the land. Every step forward achieved in increasing the yield of the land within a specified time is at the same time a step forward in destroying the sustained source of such yield." To chase after profits, capitalists have done a lot of anti-scientific deeds, such as plundering the fertility of the land, undermining the natural resources, producing limited varieties of crops, etc. This has caused grave damage to agriculture. Khrushchev, the chieftain of the Soviet revisionists, carried out plunder-type reclamation of wasteland in the Central Asian region of the Soviet Union, causing a "black storm" and a widely spread scandal. When a cyclical economic crisis sets in, the capitalists often have to destroy large quantities of food and allow large tracts of farmland to lie in waste. This has caused even more serious damage to agricultural production. All this shows that the capitalist system is a shackle to the development of science and technology as well as productivity.

What they call "over-population" and "food shortages" are nothing but nonsense. The so-called over-population in the capitalist world is not like that described by the English pastor Malthus, who claimed that population increased as the production of food decreased. On the contrary, there is no shortage of food produced, but the purchasing power of the workers is so low that their consumption of food is reduced. After World War II, neo-malthusians still kept on babbling that "poor nations are poor because their population is too large." This is a fallacy of neo-colonialism! Are there really too many people on the earth? There are approximately more than 200 billion mow of land on the surface of the earth, and arable land makes up approximately 40-60 percent of the land area. Calculated on the basis of 40 percent, arable land should amount to about 90 billion mow. The existing cultivated land of the world amounts to approximately 20 billion mow, less than a quarter of the arable land area. Actually, it isn't true that the world has too little land but that the land is far from being fully utilized. How, then, can there be overpopulation? In fact, among some of the comparatively poor and backward developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America the population density is far below that in developed capitalist countries. In Africa, there are an average of only 12 persons per square kilometer, while in the United States there are 22 persons. How can one say that these regions are poor because they have little land and large populations?

The problem of food in many countries of the Third World is the result of nothing else but prolonged aggression by imperialism, especially the superpowers. In many developing countries the people are hard working and the land is fertile. They could have abundant clothing and enough food by sticking to the policy of independence, keeping the initiative in their own hands and achieving a rejuvenation through self-reliance. However, in the past several centuries the imperialists have perpetrated relentless enslavement and plunder of the Asian, African and Latin American regions, forced them to develop an abnormal, single-crop economy and carried out exchange of unequal values with them. As a result, these regions could not develop their national economies nor achieve self-sufficiency in food, but for a long time have had to remain in a poor and backward state. After Second World War II, the imperialists have continued

to dump their "surplus" farm produce in developing countries, thereby gravely undermining the agricultural production of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Even after many developing countries have gained political independence, the superpowers have still in different degrees controlled their economic lifelines and, adopting the form of neo-colonialism, continued to exploit and plunder them, with the result that many developing countries have not been able to accumulate funds to develop agricultural production and solve the food problem. The so-called "Green Revolution" being presently pushed by US imperialism and energetically trumpeted by Soviet revisionism is a neo-colonialist tactic for carrying out aggression in the name of "aid" and under the signboard of "solving the food problem of the Third World."

The food problem is primarily a social and political problem, and it can be really solved only by carrying out a revolution and changing the old relations of production. "Revolution plus production can solve the problem of food"--this is a truth. The development of China's socialist agriculture has convincingly proved this. After overthrowing the united reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, our Party led the hundreds of million of poor and lower-middle peasants and united with the middle peasants in bringing about in the countryside a land reform, agricultural cooperation and formation of people's communes, thus setting up a brand new socialist system of collective ownership. This has provided the most important social conditions for large-scale transformation of nature, agricultural mechanization and for the establishment of socialist large-scale agriculture. Particularly after the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have been smashed, their counter-revolutionary revisionist lines criticized and repudiated, and the socialist enthusiasm of both cadres and the masses has been brought into further play. The movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture" is now vigorously developing in the vast countryside. Hundreds of millions of poor and lower-middle peasants across the country are fighting against heaven and earth, harnessing mountains and rivers, thereby bringing about the excellent situation marked by the appearance of bumper farm harvests for years running. From the banks of the Heilung River to the foot of the Wuchih Mountains, from the shore of the East China Sea to the Tibetan plateau, the scene of growing prosperity is evident everywhere. Traditionally stricken by natural calamities and shortage of grain, the three provinces of Hopei, Shantung and Honan have achieved self-sufficiency in grain and a surplus, thus initially changing the situation in which grain produced in the south has to be shipped to the north. For 25 years since the liberation, the population of our country has grown by 60 percent, but the output of grain has increased by 1.4 time and that of cotton 4.7 times. Twenty-five years ago, when our democratic revolution had barely won the victory, imperialist prophets had predicted that China could not solve the problem of food and could only survive by begging from them. Their prediction completely fell flat. The excellent situation of agricultural production in our country forms a sharp contrast with the rueful situation of the capitalist world riddled with economic crises. It is they, not we, that have declined.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's agricultural science has also made rapid development. A popular scientific experimentation movement with the poor and lower-middle peasants as the mainstay is rising with vigor. An agricultural scientific and technical contingent combining the poor and lower-middle peasants, technicians and cadres is expanding with each passing day, new processes, new products and new achievements are emerging in large numbers. At present, the broad masses, having been educated and tempered through the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, have further mastered materialist dialectics. They have further liberated their thoughts, increased their zeal for work. This will surely make for wider popularization and more penetrating development of agricultural science. China's ancient agricultural science had made important contributions to the world civilization, and China's socialist agricultural science, which is developing at a flying speed, must aim at making greater contributions to mankind.

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What Is the Purpose of Soviet Revisionism in Advocating the "Three No's" Doctrine?

by

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The Soviet Union today is a world of commodity fetishism. If one only opens a book, a newspaper or a magazine of the Soviet revisionists, one is struck by theses extolling commodities and money. The so-called "Political Economy" written by a certain doctor of philosophy and published in Moscow in 1974 is just one of such books.

This book "Political Economy" contends that under the socialist system commodity production will not cause exploitation of commodity producers, will not engender capitalism, and cannot possibly turn into capitalist commodity production. In short, it advances the "three no's" doctrine in commodity production, the gist of which is an attempt to deny that production and exchange of commodities in socialist society are vestiges of private economy, that the commodity system still embodies bourgeois rights and that the commodity system is an important economic basis engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements. Thus it comes to the defense of the capitalist system that has been restored in the Soviet Union.

Let us look at what kind of stuff they are peddling.

First, they say: Commodity production under the socialist system "is not a vestige of capitalist economy."

In socialist society the capitalist system of ownership and other forms of private ownership have undergone socialist transformation. However, because there still exist two kinds of socialist public ownership--ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, and some remnants of individual ownership are still present, the existence of the commodity system is unavoidable. Under these circumstances, it remains a hotbed engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie. When making an analysis of commodity production under conditions of proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union in those years, Lenin pointed out explicitly: "The bourgeoisie is born of commodity production." "Freedom of trade cannot but cause commodity producers to be divided into owners of capital and owners of labor power." Why does the Soviet revisionist renegade clique turn a blind eye to these scientific assertions of Lenin's? Why does it not dare to openly cite these assertions? To oppose Marxism-Leninism and at the same time hoist the Marxist-Leninist signboard is a characteristic of all forms of revisionism. Here the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has again staged a full-scale performance, its aim being to prove none other than that their phoney socialism is "genuine" and that capitalist restoration has not taken place there. Hard though they have tried, they not only failed to catch at a straw but also exposed their own renegade features!

Second, they say: Exchange of commodities of equal values does not embody bourgeois rights but the so-called "economic equality."

The men of letters in the pay of the Soviet revisionists say that the characteristic of socialist commodity production is "that the relations of equal values of commodities become the form of comradely cooperative relations among commodity producers" and that "economic equality is attained through exchange of equivalents." Is that economic equality embodied in exchange of commodities of equal values not an expression of bourgeois rights that is equal in form but unequal in reality? And didn't Marx, basing himself on the fact that in respect to distribution according to work "the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is exchange of equal values," point out that "equal right here is still--in principle--bourgeois right"? The "value" in the exchange of equal values refers to the value of commodities, which is determined by the socially required labor time used for the production of commodities, and the contradiction between the individual labor time and the socially required labor time will certainly lead to polarization among commodity producers. It is from this polarization that capitalists and wage workers appear. In socialist society, owing to the practice of the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work, bourgeois rights embodied in the principle of exchange of equal values in commodities inevitably cause differences in people's incomes and, if not restricted but allowed to be extended, will encourage the growth of capitalist factors and the emergence of new bourgeois elements. The fact that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique takes the equal right in the exchange of equal values as an expression of the "comradely cooperative relations" proves nothing else but that bourgeois rights are their highest ideal.

From Khrushchev to Brezhnev, this small band of renegades representing the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie has frantically extended bourgeois rights, turning the socialist system of ownership in the Soviet Union into a system of ownership by the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie. In the Soviet Union today, the open incomes of the small handful of bureaucrat monopoly bourgeois elements are dozen times or even up to a hundred times higher than those of ordinary workers, while their secret and illegal incomes are hardly calculable. The villa for Soviet revisionist political bureau members "is designed by French architects, its furniture imported from Finland, having a swimming pool, tennis courts, sports equipment and a recreation club with a dining hall and a theater and offering special commodities." On the other hand, the broad masses of the Soviet laboring people find it hard to make ends meet. According to published Soviet revisionist official figures, presently people who have to receive "subsidies for children of families in financial difficulties" number 25 million, or 10 percent of the entire Soviet population. The actual number of people in this category is of course much higher. Brutal exploitation and the wide gaps in incomes have long ago caused discontent among the Soviet laboring people. The so-called "economic equality" and "comradely cooperative relations" are nothing but a Soviet revisionist edition of the bourgeois "freedom, equality, and fraternity," in fact, a figleaf covering up the relations of exploitation.

Third, they say: In socialist society, "money can no longer be converted into capital, nor can it be used as a means for exploiting the labor of others."

On this question, economists in the pay of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique can neither give any reason nor find any basis, but can only seek help from a Soviet novel called "The Golden Calf." The hero of this novel, the swindler Pi-en-chieh-erh, after becoming a millionaire, suddenly realizes the truth: "in the Soviet Union one absolutely cannot use money as capital." The Soviet revisionist economists then unabashedly wrote this "truth" into the "Political Economy" edited by them, and took it as the basis for the allegation that "money can no longer be converted into capital" in the Soviet Union. About such nonsense, what can one say? As a matter of fact, this millionaire obtained his wealth through cheating, in the last analysis, through his exploitation and plundering of the laboring people. Millionaires such as Pi-en-chieh-erh exactly and vividly portray a small handful of new bourgeois elements and upstarts headed by the Brezhnev renegade clique in the Soviet Union today. On December 10, 1974 "Pravda" carried an essay which disclosed conditions that gave this "Political Economy" a sound slap in the face. In Turkoman a chief engineer named Su-yu-no-fu has his own livestock farm, raising such a large number of camels, sheep and milk cows that he has to charter a helicopter to inspect the herds and hire labor to do the grazing for him. Can the Soviet revisionist renegade clique deny that this wealth of Su-yu-no-fu isn't his capital? Doesn't this vast fortune represent nothing but the surplus value created by the Soviet workers and peasants? The millionaire himself is in effect the personification of capital. The Soviet revisionist economists can only make a laughing stock out of themselves by vainly attempting to deny the possibility of converting money into capital through the "truth" realized by a swindler-turned millionaire.

When dealing with money under the socialist system, Lenin stated clearly: "Money is a remnant of yesterday's exploitation." "Every person who has money has the actual right to exploit." In the Soviet Union, since the Khrushchev and Brezhnev renegade clique usurped the Party and state power, a basic change has taken place in the nature of the ownership system. A state of proletarian dictatorship has degenerated into a social-imperialist country. In every factory and on every farm a system of wage labor is being practiced among the broad masses of workers and peasants. Isn't this solid proof that money has been converted into capital?

Theory serves the politics of a given class. In advocating the "three no's" doctrine, the Soviet revisionist economists aim only at deceiving the Soviet people and covering up the crimes of the Brezhnev renegade clique in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. However, despite the fact that this renegade clique rigidly clings to the socialist signboard, the socialist system of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership in the Soviet Union have changed their character long ago, and socialist commodity production has also long ago degenerated into capitalist commodity production. The fact that the Soviet revisionist economists have shouted themselves hoarse that socialist commodity

production is still carried out there and will not engender capitalism can only expose their features as defenders of capitalist restoration. Facts are still facts; black cannot be described as white. The more powder they try to put on their faces, the more ugly they look.

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